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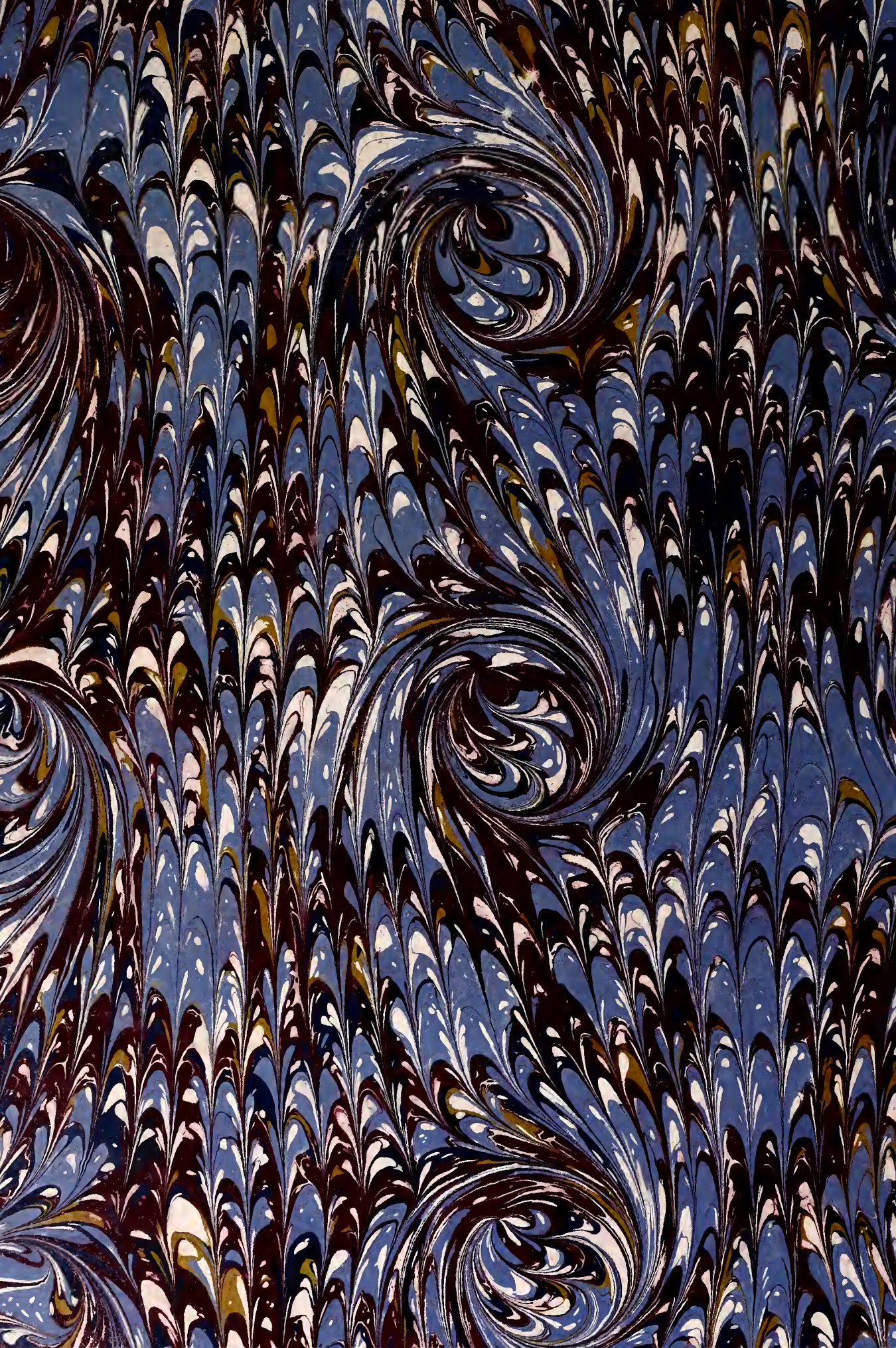

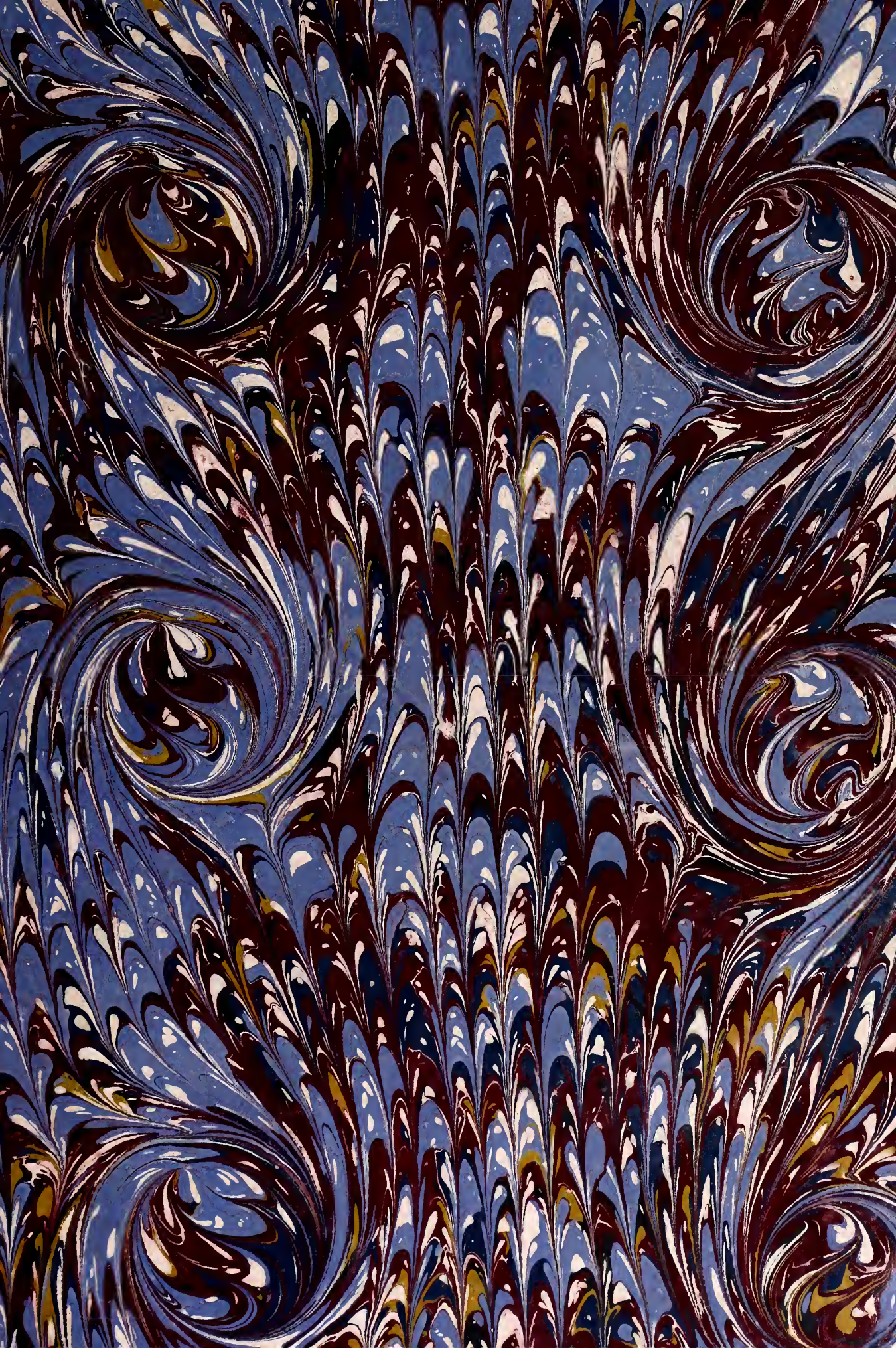

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THE TYPES OF GREEK COINS

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THE

TYPES OF GREEK COINS

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ESSAY

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DECADRACHM OF AGRIGENTUM.

CAMBRIDGE:

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PREFACE.

This book contains the substance of twelve lectures delivered at Cambridge in the Lent term of 1882. It is primarily addressed to students of Greek archaeology, for whom I have tried to extract from the results of numismatic research such parts as may be of special interest and use to men who have begun the serious study of Greek artistic remains, but whose time does not allow them to enter into the details of numismatics.

With this view I have selected from the cabinets of the British Museum and some other collections a number of representative coins bearing interesting types or devices. These are reproduced in the plates and discussed in the text; not from every point of view, but especially on the side of mythological interest and artistic style. Historical and metrological discussions I have avoided, except in the brief 'Historical Introduction.' I have endeavoured thus to produce something like an elementary reading-book of Greek art, for which purpose coins are especially fitted, as is shewn in the chapter headed 'Coin-types and Archaeology': and at the same time to render numismatic testimony more familiar to archaeologists.

The task has not been easy, for in spite of the works of numismatists who were also archaeologists such as Leake, Millingen, and some men now living, numismatics has hitherto been very imperfectly co-ordinated with other branches of classical archaeology. Few archaeological writers have had the free and continual access to collections of coins without which these cannot be fully understood: numismatic writers on the other hand have in many cases had a very imperfect knowledge of other classes of remains. I merely state a general rule, to which there have

been brilliant exceptions. Of late Professor Overbeck, with the invaluable aid of Dr Imhoof-Blumer, has inserted in his *Kunstmythologie* chapters on coins which are as complete as excellent, and so far as they go leave little to be desired. But the *Kunstmythologie* advances but slowly; and in it coins are arranged under their subjects, and not with reference to period. I on the contrary have adopted that scheme of arrangement under periods and districts which has already been used in the British Museum *Guide to Ancient Coins;* only that my classes are distributed in a different manner from that adopted by Mr Head in the *Guide.* Thus in spite of the labours of many valued predecessors, references to whose works will be found at the foot of most of my pages, much yet remained to be done, and I frequently have had to break new ground;—sometimes a dangerous venture.

A full discussion of the multitudinous types in the plates and a comparison of them with other treatments of the same subjects in sculpture and painting would have required the accumulation of immense material and the production of a very voluminous work, which would have been necessarily clumsy and arranged in inconvenient order. This course being out of the question, I was obliged to adopt the only alternative, which consisted in practising great caution and reticence, confining myself in most cases to a statement of facts, excluding mere theories, and only occasionally referring to monuments of other classes. Thus I have often been obliged to stop on the threshold of interesting subjects, when their fuller discussion would have led me too far away from the immediate subject.

I have had kind assistance in reading proofs from Mr Poole, Mr Head, and Mr Wroth: and the excellence of my plates is due to the care and skill of Mr Sawyer of the Autotype Company.

PERCY GARDNER.

British Museum,
January, 1883.

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I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Origin and Spread of Coinage.

Pollux, in his valuable chapter on coins[1], which in fact contains nearly all the information handed down to us from antiquity on the subject, says that it was among the Greeks a disputed point which was the first nation or prince to strike coins. Some, he says, ascribed the invention to the Athenians, some to the Naxians, some to Pheidon, king of Argos, some to Demodice, wife of the Phrygian Midas, some to the Lydians. We are able now, better than Pollux, better even than Aristotle, who was one of his principal authorities, to determine the respective claims of these pretenders. The Naxians certainly issued coin early, but both in type and weight it is only a copy of that of Aegina. Of the coinage of Athens no specimens which have reached us are of earlier date than the reforms of Solon, about B.C. 560, and it is almost certain that there were coins in Greece before that time. As to Midas we can only say that we do not know of any early Phrygian coinage. The Lydians and Pheidon, king of Argos, remain, and the claims of both to the invention of coinage are supported by grave authorities.

Let us first consider what precise meaning is to be attached to the phrase 'invention of coinage.' A coin is, of course, a lump of any precious metal of fixed weight, and stamped with the mark of some authority which guarantees the weight and fineness of the coin, and so its value. The so-called leathern money of the Carthaginians, if it ever existed, did not consist of coins, because not of metal; a lump of gold or silver, such as still constitutes currency in China, is not a coin, because it is not stamped by authority. Before coins were invented we know on the sure authority of the wall paintings of Egypt that

[1] Translated, with notes, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1881, p. 282.

there was in Western Asia a currency passing from hand to hand of rings of gold or silver of defined weight, though probably not stamped. In Greece proper the place of these rings of precious metal was according to the tradition[1] taken by bars or spits (*ὀβελισκοί*) of bronze or iron. It is probable, though not certain, that in Lydia and the coasts of Asia Minor small bars or lumps of electrum were in use. Electrum, white gold as Herodotus calls it, is a mixture of gold and silver which is found in the bed of the Pactolus and other rivers of Western Asia, and which the Greeks supposed to be a separate metal, reckoned by them at about three-fourths of the value of gold, and about ten times that of silver. Thus, as Syrian rings, Greek obelisks, and Lydian pellets were all adjusted to a fixed weight, it is likely that for long before the introduction of coinage proper, purchases in Western Asia and even Greece were made not so much by the clumsy method of weighing the precious metals as by counting out a certain number of units of value. The official stamp was all that was required to make coin.

It has been disputed among modern numismatists and metrologists what nation first took this capital step. Their arguments are based partly on the apparent antiquity in fabric and type of the coins which reach us from various districts of the Levant, partly on metrological grounds. In the former matter any trained eye can judge with some degree of accuracy, only we must remember that some districts of the Levant were at every period more advanced in the matter of art than others. In antiquity as in all times Asia was slower to move than Europe. The metrological argument is so complicated that I cannot venture to enter upon it here.

The writers of the greatest authority have come to the opinion that the earliest coins are Asiatic, and that it is probably to the Lydians that we must give the credit of their production. This agrees with the testimony of Herodotus[2]: *Λύδοι πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο.* But the earliest Lydian coins were not made either of gold or silver,—in this Herodotus seems to be mistaken,—but of that electrum which was at the time the current metal in Lydia, the white gold of which I have already spoken, and which Croesus presented in such quantities to the Delphic temple[3]. About the seventh century, after the fall of the Assyrian empire, Lydia rose under the dynasty of the Mermnadae to a high pitch of power and prosperity, and ruled Western Asia Minor up to the gates of Ephesus and Miletus. It is during this flourishing period of their history that the Lydians began to mint coins, and the invention was at once adopted by the Ionian cities of the coast, by Miletus, Abydos, Clazomenae, Samos and the rest. Hence arose an electrum coinage current over all the Asiatic side of the Levant.

[1] Plutarch, *Lysander*, 17. [2] I. 94. [3] Herod. I. 50.

It is necessary to say a few words as to the monetary standard followed by these coins[1]. There were, as nearly as we can make out, at the time of the invention of coinage, three standards in use in Western Asia for the weighing of the precious metals; of which standards one was applied to gold and the remaining two to silver. The weight universally used for gold had a unit of 130 grains, about 10 grains heavier than our English sovereign. This unit was the sixtieth part of the lighter Babylonic mina, and lineal ancestor of all Greek gold coins whatever. And this same unit of 130 grains was also sometimes used for weighing silver. But there was an awkwardness about this. The relation in value of gold to silver in Asia generally in Persian times was, as we know from the testimony of Herodotus[2], 13 to 1. Mommsen and Brandis maintain, on inductive grounds, that this relation would be more accurately expressed by the relation $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1 or 40 to 3. This may or may not be the case, but anyhow the proportion was awkward. As gold and silver circulated in bars, if both had been made of the same weight, $13\frac{1}{3}$ bars of silver, or 13 on the other supposition, would have gone against one of gold. A desire naturally arose to have the relative values of gold and silver bars brought into more easy and convenient relations. And it is evident that this could only be done by means of introducing a new standard for silver, and making the bars of that metal of a different weight from the bars of gold. Now the value in silver of a bar of gold weighing 130 grains at the rate of 13 to 1 is 1690 grains; and the tenth of this weight being 169 grains, it is clear that if bars of silver of the weight of 169 grains were in use for currency, ten of these would exactly pass as equivalent to one bar of gold of 130 grains. And this actually happened; 169 grains as the normal weight of a bar of silver was adopted in Mesopotamia and the inland parts of Asia Minor. It is called by Brandis the Babylonian silver standard or ten-stater standard, as ten silver bars minted according to it passed for one of gold.

But meantime in Phoenicia another mode of bringing bars of gold and silver into relations had been adopted. In that region the gold bars or rings of fixed weight which were in circulation seem to have been usually double, that is, to

[1] The history of Greek weights was a chaos until the time of Boeckh. His *Metrologische Untersuchungen* first introduced order and method into the subject; but he fell into certain grave errors which have since been corrected. The discovery of inscribed weights by Sir H. Layard in Assyria introduced a new epoch in the discussion, and it has now been clearly made out that all Greek monetary standards save the Aeginetan come from Nineveh and Babylon. The standard works on Greek metrology are now the following:—Hultsch, *Metrologic* and *Metrologici Graeci:* Mommsen, *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens* (translated into French): Brandis, *Das Munz-Mass- und Gewichts-wesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen.* An excellent *résumé* by Mr B. V. Head in the *Journal of the Bankers' Institute*, and his *Coinage of Lydia and Persia.*

[2] III. 89.

have weighed 260 grains instead of 130. Now a gold bar of 260 grains was equivalent in silver, at the same rate of 13 to 1, to 3380 grains. Now the tenth of this, 338 grains, was rather too heavy a weight to be convenient, so the Phoenicians took, instead of a tenth, a fifteenth. In this way they reached for silver a unit of $\frac{3380}{15}$, or about 224 grains. This unit was spread far and wide by the Phoenicians in the course of their trading expeditions. Brandis called the system on which it was issued the Phoenician or Graeco-Asiatic, and sometimes the fifteen-stater standard, because under it fifteen bars of silver went for one of gold.

We reach, then, the following results. In Mesopotamia and Asia Minor a gold unit of 130 grains (£1. 1*s.* 8*d.*) and a silver unit of 169 grains (1*s.* 9*d.*)[1] were in use early in the 7th century before our era; and at the same time in Phoenicia the standard units were for gold 260 grains (£2. 3*s.* 4*d.*) and for silver 224 grains (2*s.* 4*d.*).

Now it is a remarkable fact that almost all the early electrum coins of Lydia and Ionia are minted not on the gold but on the silver standards. And this fact is not inexplicable. Electrum, although merely a mixture of gold and silver, was regarded by the ancients as a peculiar and somewhat less valuable variety of gold. And there is reason to believe that they estimated its value as tenfold that of silver, and three-fourths of that of gold, this being in fact not far from the truth, as the better sort of electrum does contain about three-fourths of gold and one-fourth of silver. Thus, an electrum coin of the weight of a bar of silver would pass current for exactly ten of those bars. If on the other hand electrum had been struck on the gold standard, one bar would have passed for either three-fourths of ten or for three-fourths of fifteen bars of silver, which would have been far less convenient. And here we get at once a reason, not only for the minting of electrum on the silver standard, but also for the choice of electrum for purposes of coining. It was so extremely convenient to have as medium of exchange a metal which was, weight for weight, exactly ten times the value of silver. Moreover, electrum being hard and not well adapted for any other purpose except for a medium of exchange, it would be in less danger of being melted down when issued in pellets of fixed weight, than would either gold or silver. The bars of gold and silver were so continually cut up, melted and remoulded, that it did not seem worth while to stamp them for circulation; but electrum, once stamped, might be expected to pass from hand to hand uninjured for a long time. Thus we reach an explanation of the fact that electrum was chosen for the earliest coins, and a reason why the Lydians, who had almost a monopoly of electrum, which was found

[1] Reckoning silver at the old normal rate of five shillings an ounce.

nowhere so freely as in Lydia[1], should have been the inventors of the wondrous art of coinage, whereas they originated scarcely any other valuable system or device.

The early electrum of Lydia is minted both on the Babylonian and the Phoenician silver standard. Mr Head has with probability conjectured[2] that the pieces of Babylonian weight were intended for the inland trade in the direction of Mesopotamia and the old Hittite city of Carchemish, and those of Phoenician weight intended for the trade along the coast and with the islands. At any rate it may be regarded as reasonably certain that the two standards made their way into Lydia thus, the one by land from Babylon, the other by way of the sea from Phoenicia. The Phoenician standard no doubt reached Sardis from the great Greek cities of the coast, for these, as soon as they began striking money of electrum, used this standard almost exclusively. We have here another interesting testimony to the commercial activity of the Phoenicians in the Levant in the pre-historic ages of Greece. From them the Asiatic Greeks adopted the weights of gold and silver, one of the surest of proofs that they learned from them the secrets and art of commerce.

The only rival in Asia in pre-Persian times of the Lydian and Ionian electrum was the gold of Phocaea. For half a century before the destruction of this city by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, it was in a high state of wealth and prosperity. It took to issuing gold pieces on the double or heavy gold standard of about 260 grains, which circulated widely in the early part of the sixth century B.C., and in some places even superseded the Milesian electrum.

This brings us down to the days of the wealthy and powerful Croesus, who introduced a complete reform of the Lydian coinage. For some reason unknown to us he abolished the issue of electrum, and reintroduced a currency of gold and silver, or rather substituted gold and silver coins for the bars of those metals, which were probably still in frequent circulation. His gold coins weigh about 130 grains, and his silver pieces about 168 grains; his standard being in both cases the Babylonic rather than the Phoenician. And for ages the denominations introduced by him dominated the coinage of Asia. After the Persians destroyed his kingdom his plentiful coin continued to circulate, and it is still dug up in large quantities in the neighbourhood of his capital of Sardis. Darius, in his great reorganization of the Persian empire, issued Persian gold coins, called after him darics, or τόξοται, from their type of a royal archer, of the same weight as the Croesean staters: and the Persian silver coins, called also sigli, were of almost precisely half the weight (86 against 168 grains) of the Croesean silver pieces. Until the times of Alexander's conquests the darics and sigli constituted the basis of the whole Asiatic coinage, and exercised, in

[1] τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον, Sophocl. *Antig.* l. 1038.

[2] *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, p. 11.

the form of bribes, far too great and pernicious an influence on the politics of Greece. There is however this difference to be noted between the issue of gold and that of silver in Persia. While the great King did not allow any interference with his monopoly of issuing gold coin, whether by cities or individuals, he on the other hand allowed silver on the standard of the siglos to be issued by Greek cities within his dominions, and even by his Satraps when engaged on military expeditions.

But it is time to pursue the history of the invention of coinage across the sea to Greece proper. To do so we must return to an earlier time than that of Darius. In the seventh century before our era Athens had as yet given scanty promise of the greatness to which she was one day to attain. She was still disputing with Megara the lordship of the island of Salamis, and neither Pisistratus nor Solon had arisen. The greatest commercial cities of Greece in that age were Aegina and Corinth, and Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea. Corinth had already begun to dominate the western sea, Chalcis had planted a multitude of Hellenic cities on the Macedonian coast, the people of Aegina were the traffickers and pedlers of all Peloponnese. We shall find, as might indeed have been expected, that all these cities preceded Athens in the use of a coinage. In Greece proper there is no coinage of electrum, for the very sufficient reason that electrum is not found in Greece. Silver, on the other hand, is abundant, especially in certain districts of Epirus and Thrace. Thus the normal and original coinage of all cities of Greece proper is in silver. There are indeed a few pieces of electrum of Asiatic style still extant which are attributed with some hesitation to Thrace, Aegina and Euboea. But such issues if they ever existed soon came to an end, and Greece proper, until the days of Philip of Macedon and the Chalcidian league, possessed no regular coinage in gold or electrum.

Pollux, as we have seen, says that many supposed Pheidon, king of Argos, to have been the first to issue coin. Ephorus, as quoted by Strabo[1], says that he struck silver money in the island of Aegina. Herodotus states that he regulated the weights and measures of the Peloponnese. Coupling these statements with the fact that the most abundant and early-looking of the archaic silver coins which have come down to us are the Aeginetan coins bearing the type of a tortoise, writers have usually concluded that it was Pheidon of Argos who introduced into Greece the custom of issuing coin. But the whole history of Pheidon, his policy, his deeds, and even his date, are matters of extreme difficulty and obscurity. The statements of various writers as to his age and character are entirely inconsistent one with another. Prof. Ernst Curtius has made him a comprehensible character with a definite anti-Dorian policy, but it may be

[1] VIII. p. 358.

very much doubted whether this brilliant writer has not gone somewhat beyond the sober facts of history. Several writers have supposed that there was more than one Pheidon. In order to restrict ourselves within narrow limits I will pass by the fascinating discussion as to the political tendencies of Pheidon, and mention only one or two of the most definite statements as to his acts which have reached us. The first of these is the assertion of the trustworthy Pausanias that he presided, with the assistance of the Pisatae, at the eighth Olympian celebration. This would make his age, according to the common reckoning, the middle of the eighth century B.C. The next is the assertion of Herodotus[1] that among the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, was Leocedes of Argos, the son of Pheidon, that Pheidon (adds Herodotus) who regulated the weights and measures of Peloponnesus, and was the most impious of the Greeks, and who, expelling the Eleian Agonothetae, himself celebrated the Olympian festival. Now the date of Cleisthenes can be with reasonable certainty fixed at about B.C. 600—570. Therefore if Herodotus may be trusted, and if he cannot we shall drift into unlimited scepticism, the true date of Pheidon was a little earlier than this, say about 620—600 B.C. This is evidently quite irreconcilable with the statement of Pausanias. Weissenborn[2] has tried to reconcile the authorities by assuming that it was the 28th and not the 8th Olympiad which Pheidon celebrated, but this conjecture is purely arbitrary and would have been unworthy of mention had it not been followed by Curtius.

I have introduced this brief discussion of the date of Pheidon because it is important if we wish to fix the date of the introduction of coinage into Europe. For it seems most likely that this was the work of Pheidon. And it is important to observe that all the evidence which can be gathered from coins themselves is in favour of the Herodotean date of Pheidon. We have no reason to believe that even the Lydians minted coin at an earlier date than the beginning of the seventh century, and the invention was not likely to be at once adopted in Europe. Further, as we shall presently see, none of the extant coins of Athens are of an earlier period than the legislation of Solon, about B.C. 596, and it is not likely that the Athenians would be more than 30 or 40 years behind other cities in the adoption of so useful an art as that of coining. For these and for other reasons we must maintain that the ruler who first introduced coins into Europe, and who was probably Pheidon of Argos, cannot have flourished much earlier than the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

Contemporary with the issue of coins at Aegina were the issues from the mints of Euboea and Corinth. And all these three places or districts had coin-standards of their own, as to which we must say a few words. The Aeginetan, Euboic and Corinthian standards are the three in use in historical times in

[1] VI. 127. [2] A full discussion of the subject in *Philologus*, Vols. XXVIII. XXIX.

Greece, Italy and Sicily. The origin of the Aeginetan standard is doubtful. We learn that it was introduced by Pheidon, who regulated the weights of Peloponnese, but the question whence he obtained it remains in spite of discussions still obscure. Its stater[1] weighed about 196 grains, rather more than two of our shillings, and was divided into two drachms of 98 grains, each of which contained six obols of about 16 grains each. The Euboic standard was identical with that in use for gold in Asia, the unit or stater weighing 130 grains, the drachm 65, and the obol 11.

The ordinary student of archaeology will scarcely find it profitable to give time and attention to the subject of monetary standards, as it is too perplexed and intricate for any but specialists. I will here avoid speaking of them as much as possible. But nevertheless we should not do justice to the historical part of our subject unless something were said about a few of the chief monetary systems. I must therefore very briefly recount the history in Greece of the Euboic and Aeginetan systems of weight, as a light will probably be thereby thrown on some aspects of Greek history.

The Aeginetan system, which we may call the Greek heavy system of weight, spread rapidly over the whole of Peloponnese and Northern Greece; while the Euboic, which may be termed the light Greek system of weight, was at first confined to Euboea, Samos and other islands. Then there arose at Corinth and at Athens a conflict between the two, the issue whereof is interesting. The result of the conflict at Corinth was the adoption of the Euboic unit, the Corinthian stater being of 130 grains weight in the earlier period. But in order probably to facilitate intercourse with the neighbouring states which held to the Aeginetan standard the people of Corinth divided their stater, not like the Euboeans into two drachms, but into three drachms of 45-40 grains each, which apparently at a later period passed as Aeginetan hemidrachms. Thus the Corinthian coins, while they could pass current as didrachms in countries using the Euboic scale, might pass as a drachm and a half in countries using the Aeginetan.

At Athens also, towards the beginning of the sixth century, the Aeginetan standard was in use; and, curious as it may appear, it is yet more than probable that the Athenians at that time had no coins of their own, but used the Aeginetan money marked with a tortoise, the very money to which they afterwards took such a dislike that they would not even mention the name Aeginetan drachm or obol, but used the phrase *heavy* drachm or obol[2]. This was the state of matters at the time of the legislation of Solon. That great lawgiver, as Plutarch informs us, introduced, among his other reforms, a measure

[1] Gr. στατήρ, the standard or principal coin of a mintage, as the sovereign in England, the dollar in America.

[2] Pollux IX. 76.

for the relief of debtors. His plan was this: to issue new drachms considerably lighter than those which had hitherto been in use, and to ordain that debts contracted under the old system of drachms should be discharged by means of the new, the debtors thus making a considerable saving. The relation between the old and the new drachm was, according to Plutarch, as 100 to 73; that is to say that 73 of the old drachms were made into 100 new ones, the gain to the debtors being 27 of the new drachms per cent. But this practically amounted to giving up the Aeginetan for the Euboic standard; the new Solonic standard, which was thenceforth known as the Attic, being very nearly equivalent to the Euboic. The difference between the staters of the Attic and the Euboic standard is indeed about five grains, the Attic didrachm weighing about 135 and the Euboic, as we have seen, about 130 grains. Why Solon did not go a very little further in his reduction and make his new stater exactly equivalent to the Euboic we cannot say. By so doing he would have given still greater relief to the debtors, and at the same time accepted a generally recognized scale of weight. But there can of course be no doubt that he had reasons for doing exactly as he did, though at this distance of time we cannot recover them. One curious effect of his proceeding was this: as he would not come down to the Euboic level, the Euboic standard rose to the level which he fixed. The staters of Euboea, Corinth and other places shew just at the time of Solon, or a little later, a slight but distinctly perceptible rise in weight, in order, probably, to bring them on terms with the money of the now rapidly rising city of Athens.

Most of the larger Greek islands followed during the sixth century the lead of Euboea and Aegina in issuing coins. But only a few of the wealthier and more commercially inclined of Greek cities on the mainland began so early as 550. Many wealthy cities, such as Pharsalus and Pherae in Thessaly and Elis in Peloponnese, apparently did not begin to mint until after the Persian wars. Indeed there were whole districts, such as Aetolia and Epirus, which had no coins of their own until the days of Alexander the Great; and others such as Doris which never had an autonomous coinage at all. In such cases no doubt the issues of more wealthy and enterprising neighbours filled the gap.

Meantime the invention had passed on to Italy and Sicily. What course exactly it followed we cannot be sure. We know however that when the people of Phocaea in Ionia sailed to Italy and founded Velia, they took their coins with them[1]. And more archaic than any with the types of Velia are certain incuse coins of Southern Italy, which were mostly of Achaean colonies. We possess coins of Siris and Sybaris in Magna Graecia, both of which cities were destroyed about 530—510 B.C. But that these coins were issued shortly before

[1] See below, ch. VII.

the destruction of the cities which struck them we have every reason for assuming, and the extreme rarity of those of Siris is an argument against their having been issued over a long period of time. Nor do either Sirine or Sybarite pieces shew any marks of an earlier and a later issue, or of progressive perfection in workmanship and art. It is then reasonable to suppose that the great cities of Magna Graecia did not begin to strike money before the middle of the sixth century. All these cities issued staters weighing about 130—120 grains, which seem to follow the Corinthian standard[1].

The earliest coins of Sicily are not, as might have been expected, those of Syracuse. In this matter Syracuse seems to have been less forward than her Chalcidian neighbours, Naxos and Zancle. Already in the sixth century these two cities issued coins in fabric like those of Southern Italy and of the weight of an Aeginetan drachm. But Syracuse soon followed, introducing in her mint the Attic standard, which thenceforth prevails universally in Sicily. Mr Head[2] assigns, though with hesitation, some few coins of Syracuse to the period before B.C. 485. The coinage of Rhegium begins with the rule of Anaxilaüs in the beginning of the fifth century; that of the neighbouring Messene somewhat earlier, while that city still bore the name of Zancle. On the whole we are not likely to be far wrong in giving the earliest coins of Italy to the middle, and those of Sicily to the end of the sixth century. Etruria followed the lead at no long interval, but it does not appear that the Romans possessed a coinage in copper until the fourth century, and coins in silver did not issue from Roman mints until B.C. 269. But the Greek colonies of the west, though they began their issues of coin later than the mother-country, soon outstripped it in the variety, the beauty and the universality of their coins. And in this as in other matters Asia, which was the first to light the torch of discovery and improvement, carried it with slower steps to the goal than the less richly endowed districts of Europe.

On the Southern shores of the Mediterranean the country which earliest adopted the invention of coinage was not the civilized Egypt, nor the commercial Carthage, but Cyrene. Very flourishing in early times was the kingdom of the Cyrenaica under the rule of its Battiad princes. As early probably as the beginning of the sixth century there were issued in this district rude silver coins which followed the Euboic or Attic standard, and in fabric resemble the early pieces of such islands as Ceos and Aegina. The non-Hellenic regions of North Africa were at all events in the matter of coinage far behind Cyrene. Egypt used only the regal money of Persia until the time of the Ptolemies, and Carthage seems only to have learned the art of coinage from the Greeks of Sicily about B.C. 400; borrowing indeed not only the idea of money, but even the types she impressed on it.

[1] Mommsen, *R. M.* p. 106.

[2] *Coinage of Syracuse.*

CHAPTER II.

International currencies among the Greeks.

To trace the history of Greek money from the first to the last days of Greek independence would be a task of enormous complication and difficulty. The history of the coinage of every city runs on parallel to the political history of that city, sometimes illustrating, sometimes confirming, sometimes deciding between contending accounts, now and then casting a grave doubt on the tale delivered us by historians. The very idea of such a history could only take its rise quite lately, for until lately the dates of coins and even their local attributions had not been determined with sufficient accuracy. In our time it has become a possibility, and the monetary history of a few cities has already been sketched in a tentative manner. Brandis has written a most able and elaborate work on the coinage of Asia Minor during the Persian Empire; and Mommsen has given us a philosophical treatise on the history of the coinages of Italy both before and after the Roman conquest. A monetary history of Greece proper is yet to come. It is obvious that the merest outline of such a history would occupy too much space for the present occasion, nor could it in fact be written without many most laborious investigations. I will therefore confine myself to a few general observations.

All Greek cities of any importance jealously guarded their privilege of issuing silver and copper money. And doubtless they rigorously imposed upon merchants who came to traffic with them the necessity of taking and making payments in the local coin. As even neighbouring cities frequently minted their money on different standards, and not merely so but even on standards which appear to us incommensurable, the time spent in haggling over money and prices must have been considerable. Perhaps the Greeks even enjoyed this haggling with the love of bargaining which marked the race in ancient as in modern times. But the difficulties of exchange would have been endless, but for the class of *trapezitae*, which existed in all large cities. These men performed some of the simpler functions of the modern banker. The earliest and most essential part of their business, however, was to act as money-changers, to value the miscellaneous stocks of coins which were continually pouring into the markets and

to give in exchange either the money of the country or some other coin which was in demand. Having to keep by them for this purpose a considerable stock of gold and silver they came in time to fulfil the functions of capitalists, to lend money on mortgages and bottomry and receive deposits at interest. But the nucleus of their business was always the changing of money.

On the tables of the trapezitae on all the shores of the Aegean were to be found some special classes of coins which were in public demand and fulfilled in some degree the functions of a common Hellenic coinage. Probably one of these kinds of specie would form a measure of value in the various cities by which the values of their respective issues could be easily tested and reckoned up. Thus if at Delos a Persian gold Daric passed for 26 Attic drachms and 35 Samian drachms, evidently an Attic drachm would there be equivalent to $1\frac{9}{26}$ Samian drachms, excluding the question which would no doubt often arise of special agios according to circumstances of supply and demand.

I have assumed the Persian Daric as a generally-current standard of value, and so it was in many parts of the Levant and at various periods, more especially in early times. This is evident from the way in which Herodotus speaks of the Daric; and there was in Greece a saying about it under the title τοξότης, which shews that it was familiar to the Greeks, more especially to such as were not unopen to a bribe. It was in value nearly equivalent to a sovereign and of very convenient size and shape. The multitude of these pieces in circulation may be judged from the statement of Herodotus[1] that a private individual, Pythius the Lydian, possessed in the reign of Xerxes four millions of them. The silver pieces of the same type as the Darics, but of about $\frac{1}{20}$ the value, the Persian shekels of about 86 grains weight, were likewise issued in enormous numbers in Persia, as the quantity of them still from time to time dug up fairly proves. These regal Persian coins, both in gold and silver, were through the greater part of Asia the main bulk of the currency until the fall of the Persian Empire; and even in the Greek cities of Asia Minor they were probably in the place of a coinage common to all, to which all the issues of the cities had to be adapted.

In Greek proper during the century before the Peloponnesian war the coins in widest circulation were those of Aegina, Athens and Corinth. Of these were commonly composed the hoards of the wealthy, and in these were paid large sums when large sums had to be paid. I have already mentioned the relative values of the staters of these three great commercial cities. Those of Corinth weighed 135, those of Aegina 196, those of Athens 270 grains. In reckoning by Attic drachms of 67 grains, these sets of staters might well pass as 2, 3 and 4 units. This is however entirely matter of conjecture. Our chief

[1] VII. 28.

authority, Pollux, gives two quite inconsistent statements as to the relative values of the Attic and Aeginetan drachms. In one place[1] he says that the Aeginetan obol was $\frac{1}{10}$th of the Corinthian stater or Attic didrachm; which would make the Aeginetan drachm $1\frac{1}{5}$th Attic drachms; but in another place[2] that the Aeginetan drachm was $1\frac{2}{3}$rds of an Attic drachm. It is in fact extremely probable that the relation between Aeginetan and Attic drachms varied from place to place according to circumstances. But the normal relation would naturally, on the tables of neutral money-changers, depend on the weight. The Corinthian staters were largely current in Sicily, where they passed as equivalent to ten litrae of copper, also on the coast of Acarnania, and the shores of the Corinthian gulf. The Aeginetan staters were, until the fall of Aegina, the ordinary currency of Peloponnesus and the Cyclades. The Athenian coin spread ever further and further as the power and commerce of Athens spread. The mines of Laurium furnished an abundant supply of pure silver; the Athenian mint paid great heed to the purity of coins issued from it, and shrank from any alteration in type or weight which might make them less generally acceptable. Hence they became in the course of the fifth century the money best known on all shores of the Aegean, and in our day frequent finds of Athenian coins in Egypt, Asia Minor, Thrace, and even the far East, shew to how large extent they offered a coinage to barbarians and a common coinage to Hellenes.

In fact, in the Aegean Sea, after Aegina had fallen, and the course of Corinthian commerce had turned persistently towards the West, Athens had but two rivals among Greek cities whose issues of coins in any way approached hers in extent. The first of these was Cyzicus. For reasons, some of which we can trace, though doubtless others can no longer be found, the issue of electrum coins by the Greek cities of the coast of Asia Minor had greatly fallen off. Several of them, notably Phocaea and Mytilene, still issued in the fifth century small pieces of electrum called hectae or sixths, weighing about forty grains; but the issue of electrum staters of full weight had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the people of Cyzicus. The Cyzicene staters are still abundant and well known to all students of Greek numismatics. On the obverse they bear a great variety of types, supplemented in all cases by the tunny fish, the mark of the Cyzicene mint. Their reverse is a mere incuse-square. Several specimens figure in our plates.

But however celebrated in modern days for interest and beauty, Cyzicene staters were in old Greek days still more renowned. In the treasure-lists of Athens, still preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere, they are frequently mentioned. We find such mention[3] in the Lygdamis inscription from

[1] IV. 174. [2] IX. 76.

[3] These passages are collected by Mr Head, *Num. Chronicle*, 1876, pp. 293 sqq.

Halicarnassus (about B.C. 445), the accounts of the Superintendents of Public Works at Athens (B.C. 434), and the treasure-lists (B.C. 429, 422, 418, 416, 415, 412 and 406); also in the speeches of Lysias, Demosthenes and other writers. Xenophon[1] tells us that the mercenaries of the younger Cyrus were offered by Timasion a Cyzicene stater a month as pay; and Demosthenes mentions[2] that Cyzicenes were current in his day on the shores of the Black Sea. We have then ample evidence that Cyzicene electrum formed a kind of international currency in the Levant in conjunction with the gold of Persia and the silver of Athens.

Also in the earlier part of the fourth century, when the fortunes of Athens were at a low ebb, she suffered something as well in the spread of her currency as in her Bosphoric trade from the rise of Rhodes. Not that the coins of Rhodes were ever, until long after Alexander's days, so plentiful and so universally accepted as those of Athens. Nevertheless they had wide circulation and influence. And the best proof is this: the Rhodians introduced into the monetary world about B.C. 400 a new standard for coins, called after them the Rhodian, the stater or tetradrachm of which weighed about 240 grains, and it is an interesting and important fact that this standard was adopted in a short time, not only in places near them in Asia, such as Caria and Samos, but even in comparatively distant regions, such as Aenus and Byzantium. This shews that the Rhodian drachm had wide currency before the middle of the fourth century, though the great time of Rhodes was yet to come.

However Macedon, the source of the Hellenization of the ancient world, was also the cause of the adoption of comparatively uniform systems of coinage among Greeks, and of the spread of Greek monetary systems over the world. Philip began the work. The gold with which he is said to have won more cities than he conquered by his arms was issued from the active Macedonian mints in the form of didrachms of Attic weight, which soon became in the West of the Mediterranean all that the Persian Darics were in the East, which passed as a universal currency in Greece and Italy and were imitated by rude Celtic tribes in Pannonia, Gaul and Britain. This process of imitation went on for centuries after Philip's death.

But on the shores of the Aegean and in Asia the gold staters of Philip were soon succeeded and displaced by those of Alexander. Enormous as had been the quantity of gold obtained by Philip from his Thracian mines, amounting it is said to some £2,000,000 a year, the treasures won by Alexander in the great cities of Persia were of immeasurably greater amount. The hoards which the Persian kings had laboriously accumulated Alexander put into circulation, and his generals on his death squandered them profusely; so that the mountain

[1] *Anab.* v. 6. 23.

[2] *c. Phorm.* 34, 23.

of gold and silver—Alexander is said to have stored the precious metals at Ecbatana to the extent of £40,000,000—spread over all lands held by the Greeks. The mints which the Greeks set up in Asia might probably be numbered by thousands, and enough gold and silver flowed into Europe to set in motion the mints of all towns in Macedon and Hellas. And almost all these issued, either in conjunction with their own coins or in the place of them, money bearing the name and the types of the great conqueror. Thus a world-wide coinage arose, of which the Greeks of Bactria, of Egypt and of the Peloponnese alike made use; in fact it is still a matter of the greatest difficulty to discern the differences between coins of Alexander issued respectively in districts thousands of miles apart from one another.

It has been said, and as I think with justice, that had we no knowledge of Alexander's achievements except from coins, we should yet have sufficient evidence to prove him the greatest civilizer who ever lived. And it is not only the universality and the universal uniformity of his coin which comes in evidence, but also his masterly treatment of issues of gold and silver in relation to one another. Hitherto in almost all countries gold and silver had been minted on different standards with a view to making one gold piece pass for a round number of silver pieces. Gold bore to silver in value, it will be remembered, in early times the relation 13 to 1. Thus, while the Persian Daric weighed 130 grains, the Persian siglos or silver shekel weighed about 86, in order that it might be worth $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Daric. And in the coinage of Philip, while the gold stater weighed nearly 135 grains, the weight of the silver stater was fixed at somewhat below 230 grains in order that 15 of these latter should pass for two gold staters. Now Alexander broke away from this rule, and struck all his money both in gold and silver on the Attic standard only. What may have been his exact motives it is not possible to say with certainty. It may be that the old relation in value between the two metals of 13 to 1 had begun to fluctuate: in fact we know that silver about the time of Alexander became more valuable in proportion to gold. Or it may be that the wide circulation and universal acceptance which had been attained by the silver coins of Athens, both in Asia and Europe, induced Alexander to issue his silver staters of the same weight as those of Athens. But whatever his motives may have been, there can be little doubt of the happy results of his arrangements. Henceforth there was in all the Greek world a normal or standard weight for the precious metals, recognized even in those cities which preserved in minting their former standards. And henceforth fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver introduced no disorder or inconvenience into trade; when the relation stood at 12 to 1, twelve silver drachms passed for one of gold, when the relation was at 10 to 1, ten passed in the place of twelve. No doubt it was asserted or implied in contracts whether payments under them

were to be made in gold or in silver; and this being once understood no difficulty as to exchanges would arise.

All the successors of Alexander, excepting only the Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, adhered to the same Attic standard alike for their gold and their silver. Thus in Macedon, in Syria and in Bactria, this weight remained the usual and important one. No doubt in spite of this many cities retained their accustomed weight. Miletus adhered still to the Persian, Tyre and Sidon to the Phoenician, Corinth to the Corinthian standard. These however were local. The only non-regal coinage of the Macedonian age which requires notice in this brief summary is that of Rhodes. The Rhodian drachm was at first only by a few grains lighter than the Attic, but it fell in weight somewhat rapidly, and about the year B. C. 250 scarcely weighed more than 50 grains. It is probably this drachm which was the unit of the celebrated coinage of so-called Cistophori, coins issued in large quantities in the cities of Asia Minor under the Pergamene Kings and the Roman Republic. And the Rhodian and Cistophoric drachm is noteworthy as being at one time the basis of the coinage of almost all the world. For during the second century B. C., when it was almost universally current in Asia, the Roman Victoriatus and the Illyrian drachm, which also weighed about 50 grains, were the units of calculation in Italy and the west; a practically uniform coinage being thus set up in all the basin of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER III.

Die-Cutting and Coin-Stamping.

The materials used by the Greeks for coins were those which have been favourites in all ages. The coins represented in the plates are in four metals only, (1) gold, (2) electrum, a mixture in various proportions of gold and silver, (3) silver, (4) bronze, a mixture of copper and tin. The use of any other material among the Greeks was very rare. In the island of Lesbos coins of a mixed metal, billon, were issued as early as the fifth century, and nickel seems to have been used for currency in north India by the successors of Alexander. The writers also speak of iron money as in use at Lacedaemon and Byzantium; but of this no specimen has come down to us.

Although the ancients did not use the mineral acids which are now employed in refining gold and silver, there is no doubt that they well understood from a practical point of view how to purify as well as how to alloy the precious metals. Agatharchides[1] gives us a detailed account of the refinement of gold in Egypt; an operation which was carried out by placing the gold in an earthen pot, together with lead, tin, salt and barley-bran, and keeping it in a state of great heat for five days: and M. Mongez[2] declares that this process is effectual. The point in which the ancients were least successful was in the separation of gold from silver; these two metals being always found together, and not easily separable. All gold, says Pliny[3], contains silver, the purest known, that of the Metallum Albicratense in Gaul, only one thirty-sixth: wherever the fifth part is silver the compound is called electrum. But from baser alloy the precious metals were readily separated. The touch-stone was a ready test for gold; silver could very easily be tried by cutting off a fragment and melting it. And even apart from these means, Greeks and Persians, like the Chinese of our days, would readily judge of the fineness of coin or bar by touch, sound and smell[4]. That the Greeks used but little alloy with their coins, at all events in the earlier periods, has been proved by frequent experiment, and is indeed well known.

[1] In Photius, *Bibliotheca*.

[2] In an important paper in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* Vol. IX. whence many of the facts following are cited.

[3] *H. N.* XXXIII. 23.

[4] Epictetus I. 20.

The coining implements of the Greeks were very simple. Of course machinery such as that now used was entirely unknown; anvil, hammer, and tongs, which are represented on the reverse of a denarius of the Carisia gens, which bears on the obverse a head of Moneta, were the implements used. First of all a die was cut, by what process will presently be stated, in intaglio, in bronze, brass or soft iron. This die was then let into a prepared hole in an anvil, so that its surface was a little below that of the anvil; on it was laid a blank shaped by casting into the size and form of the required coin, and heated to redness. At this stage the tongs would obviously be required to place the heated blank. On it was placed a bar of metal into which another die was inserted; and on the top of this bar one or more violent blows were struck with a hammer. The bar containing the upper die was then taken away, and the now stamped coin removed with the tongs and a fresh blank substituted in its place.

To some extent these statements are matter of conjecture, for no Greek dies, so far as I know, have come down to our times. A few Roman dies exist, and a few dies of Gaulish coins, which are all of bronze or wrought iron, and all remarkable by the absence of a collar, and the simple fashion in which the dies work one against another.

Such in general outline was the coining process of the Greeks; and of the Romans, until about the time of Constantine steel dies and new processes came in. We can however trace on the coins which have come down to us, successive improvements in the process. The most primitive in fabric of all Greek coins in the British Museum is an ovoid pellet of electrum, on one side merely roughened or striated, and on the other bearing three punch-marks, one oblong between two square, as in pl. IV. 8. It seems to me that this coin could only be produced in one way. The pellet of metal, after being cast, must have been placed red-hot on a surface of rough or corrugated bronze or iron, and an instrument placed on it in shape like a huge nail, but with an end formed like the impression on the coin. A single blow with a heavy hammer on the top of this instrument would drive it far into the yielding electrum; and it would pin down the blank so firmly that if three or four blows were required, it could not move during the process. From this primitive beginning, progress could be made in either or both of two directions. Either a device in intaglio could be let into the anvil at the point where the blanks were laid, or else a device also in intaglio could be cut in the nail-like punch. From the use of the first process the coin would get an obverse-type, from the use of the second device a reverse-type; the latter within an incuse-square. As the ancients used no collar to hold a coin while being struck the incuse-square was a very convenient result of the process, the metal outside the square overlapping round the punch, and holding the blank in position; cf. pl. IV. 4, 34. Hence it appears that the obverse die of a coin was the lower

in striking, and the reverse type the upper. It also seems that archaic coins were punched rather than struck; and as the punch was especially the instrument of the state which stamped the money as its own it is not strange that the city-name should usually appear on the reverse, not the obverse of coins.

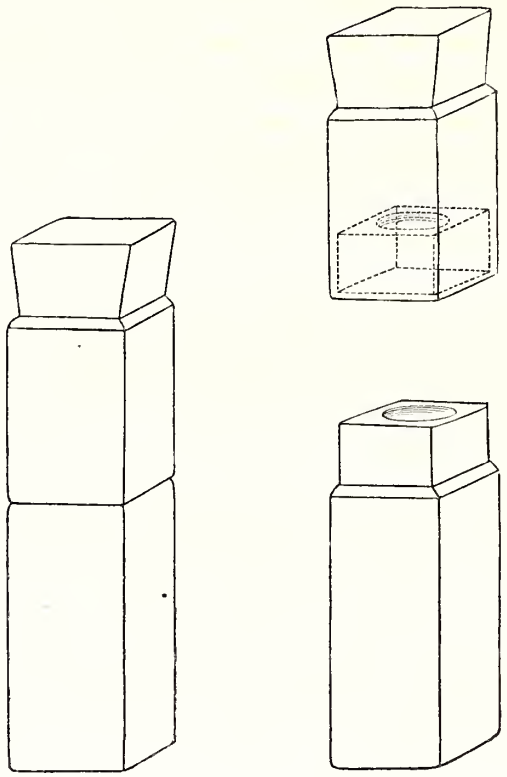
In Asia some form of incuse-square was usual until after B.C. 400, and in some places, as at Rhodes and Cos, was continued almost to Roman times. In Hellas, incuse-squares and circles alternating, pl. III. 42, 44, &c., shew that square-tipped and round-tipped punches were used indiscriminately in the fifth century. But in Italy and Sicily from the first the incuse-square was not in favour, being probably considered a crude and barbarous expedient. The cities of Magna Graecia in the sixth century substituted another plan. They cut their lower die in intaglio and their upper die in relief, at the same time casting their blanks very thin, and in this way obtained a mastery and grasp which enabled them to strike very neatly and strongly. Usually both dies have the same device so as quite to fit into one another, see pl. I. 1; and this was evidently the best plan; but sometimes the reverse and obverse types were different; thus on the obverse of pl. I. 12 is a tripod. Another device for holding a blank between the blows of the hammer was the introduction of a strongly marked border, either plain, as in pl. I. 9, dotted as in pl. I. 6, or formed into a pattern as in pl. I. 4.

With increasing skill in manipulation these devices became outworn, and the blank was merely placed between two nearly flat dies, nearly not quite flat (for the reverse of a Greek coin is nearly always concave), a fact for which the reason is obvious, otherwise the metal could hardly have been forced into the obverse die with sufficient energy. It now became necessary either to finish a coin at one blow of the hammer, or else so to strike successive blows that the blank should not move between. This could not have been easy, and it is the less surprising that an immense number of Greek coins are what is called double-struck; that is, have shifted during the hammering process. M. Mongez says that the blanks were sometimes withdrawn between the blows to be re-heated; this however appears to me most unlikely, as the workman could never have restored them to quite the same place from which he took them.

The woodcut represents one of the few ancient dies still existing[1]. It is of a coin of the younger Faustina, not Greek, but Roman, and probably more complete and convenient from the practical point of view than Greek dies. Yet to a modern eye it will seem sufficiently primitive and but poorly adapted to an extensive and rapid issue of coin. The right hand figure represents the two parts of the die, upper and lower, with the types cut in intaglio; the left hand figure the two parts fitted together ready to receive the blow of the hammer on the top. The lower die would probably be imbedded in a ground

[1] Taken from the paper of Dr Friedländer *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, vol. v. p. 121.

of metal or wood, to enable it to resist the blow. Every blank would require special placing and removal.



As the dies were made of soft metal they very rapidly wore out, wore down and broke. Hence the enormous variety in detail of ancient coins. Seldom do we find two coins from one die, and continually we remark in the field of coins signs of fracture or decay in the dies. And the artists who were constantly at work making coin-dies thus learned to be rapid and careless in their work, but at the same time had immense practice. Among us a new die is designed at rare intervals; in Greece they were being continually cut at every mint. M. Mongez has gone carefully into the question with what tools these dies were cut, and gives it as the opinion of a practical engraver that all ancient dies down to the fifth century A.D. were cut by means of the wheel, in the same manner as gems, and not with the graving tool, which was introduced in late Roman times, and is now exclusively employed. It appears that cutting by the wheel is the more rapid process by far. A pair of dies, says M. Mongez, which would take more than a month to engrave with a graver, could with the aid of the wheel be produced in six days[1]. But the ancients, working in rougher and more hasty fashion, and with more practised hands, were far more

[1] Mongez, l.c. p. 208.

expeditious. The usurper Marius, for instance, who reigned only three days, has left us a quantity of coins in more than one metal, and from a great variety of dies, and similar instances abound.

If we attentively consider any set of ancient coins we shall find abundant proof of the truth of the above statements. The round dots in which letters of inscriptions often terminate are a sure mark of the use of a wheel by the engravers. This may be noticed on coins of several periods, such as pl. III. 53, V. 27, XI. 45. That coins were struck when hot is shewn by the reticulation of surface, which is especially notable in Macedonian coins; that they were cast in moulds before being struck is evident from the projections on their sides, specially notable in Sicilian pieces, such as pl. VI. 10, 29[1]. Not only are coins double-struck, from the difficulty of holding them in one place during the minting operation, but they are in many other ways irregular. Sometimes the type is quite at the edge of the coin, sometimes it is confused and not fairly struck up, sometimes, as in pl. VI. 19, there is a blemish in the soft metal of the die. Sometimes by a too heavy blow of the hammer the edges of the coin were broken, as in pl. V. 29, 43. Altogether, there must have co-existed in the production of a perfect coin a number of favourable chances; and it can scarcely be wondered that of the coins which reach us, not one in ten is without blemish of some kind. But at the same time this very variety and chance of coins makes them more interesting and gives them something of animation.

Of the artists who cut dies we know very little. Some of the distinguished Syracusan engravers worked, we know, for some of the Italian mints. But out of Sicily signed coin-dies are rare, and we have no means of judging who in Hellas and Asia made the coin-dies. I have been informed that in the opinion of some of the first painters and sculptors of Germany some of the finer pieces of Greek money are worthy of the hand of really great sculptors: but history does not record an instance in which a sculptor controlled the mint of a Greek city, as Francia in more modern times did that of Bologna.

[1] Indian coins were in very early times cut as blanks out of a plate, whence their square form. cf. pl. XIV. 24, 25. Some of the copper pieces of the Seleucidae and Ptolemies seem also to have been cut out of plates and not cast; but these are but exceptions which illustrate the rule.

CHAPTER IV.

Coin-Inscriptions.

The special subject of the present work is the types of Greek coins. Other branches of the study of numismatics, although of value and interest, are less fitted for the purposes of students of Greek archaeology, partly because they require much special study, and partly because they would involve constant reference to the coins themselves. But the types of coins can by means of photographic fac-similes be simultaneously brought before the eyes of a class of students; and it is possible within a limited time to learn so much about them as will be of service in the study of Greek art and antiquities.

Nevertheless, for the present, we shall deal with coins as a whole; and not with their types only. This is necessary, because it is important to gain some idea of the place held by coins in Greek life and history, before we proceed to look at them under a narrower and more special aspect.

Under the present head I propose to say a few words as to the inscriptions of Greek coins. It is well known to all numismatists, but should perhaps be here stated for the instruction of beginners, that the ordinary inscription placed upon coins by the independent cities or states which issued them was the name of the people of the city in the genitive plural. Thus the coins of Syracuse bear the legend Συρακοσίων, those of Thebes, Θηβαίων, those of Ephesus, Ἐφεσίων, and so forth. These legends seldom indeed occur on the earliest coins; these are without inscription in all but a few cases, and the place of mintage is indicated only by the type. And in the sixth and fifth centuries the ethnic is seldom written at length; the first two or three letters only are used, a custom retained in more conservative coinages even to Roman times. Thus the coins of Athens bear, as a rule, only the letters ΑΘΕ, those of Elis the letters FA, and the money of Corinth the single letter ϙ. I have said that the ordinary inscription is the genitive plural of the ethnic, but though this is the rule, it is a rule which admits many exceptions. Thus we not unfrequently meet the name of a city in the nominative singular as ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ and ΤΑΡΑΣ on the coins of Agrigentum and Tarentum respectively, unless indeed ΤΑΡΑΣ be taken as the name of the hero Taras, mythical founder of Tarentum, whose

figure appears on the coin. We meet also the genitive of the city-name as ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ, pl. II. 41, and ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΥ, pl. VIII. 33; or the nominative singular of the ethnic as ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ on a coin of Rhegium, pl. I. 18, and ΚΑΥΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ, pl. I. 13. Occasionally the feminine form occurs, as ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ at Larissa, pl. III. 33, in which case it is doubtful what noun should be understood.

Sometimes, in place of the usual genitive plural, we find a local adjective ending in -ΙΚΟΝ. Thus the coins of Panormus are sometimes inscribed ΠΑΝΟΡ-ΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ, those of Arcadia, ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ, pl. III. 15, those of Nagidus, ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ, pl. XIII. 2, and so forth. Beside the name of the city, coins frequently bear that of a monetary magistrate. Already in the fifth century B.C. these functionaries began to place not merely their signets on coins, in accordance with a principle of which I shall hereafter speak, but also their names, either in full or represented by a few letters. About the time of Alexander the Great this custom gained ground rapidly, more especially in Asia Minor, the coinages of many cities, such as Ephesus and Samos, bearing henceforth customarily the name of a magistrate, written at length. And in fact in certain cities, such as Abdera, this had been the custom as early as the middle of the fifth century, see pl. III. 29, 30, 31. At a still later period, in the third and second centuries before our era, when commerce was extensive, and coins were looked on merely as a piece of machinery for facilitating it, we find a still greater refinement. Coins of series of extensive use in commerce, such as those of Athens and Dyrrhachium, bear the names of more than one magistrate; and in this way the date of the piece was fixed at the same time that an indication was given who was to blame if it had not due weight and fineness.

In the case of coins issued, not by cities but by kings, the names of these latter naturally appear. In that case the name of the city where the minting took place was either not indicated at all, or merely indicated by a monogram or a device at the time understood but not easily to be interpreted by us. And this fact furnishes us with a clue to determine whether a name unknown to history and written at full length on a coin is that of a ruler or tyrant, or on the other hand, of a mere monetary magistrate. If the name of the city on the coin be written at full length or in its customary abbreviation, it is probable that the personal name is only that of a magistrate; if there is no name of city, or only a brief and unusual abridgment of its name, it is probable that the personal name is that of a despot. The names of regular kings are in earlier times not preceded by the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Alexander I. of Macedon, and his successors down to the time of Alexander the Great, merely place their name in the genitive on their coin. Alexander the Epirote distinguishes himself from his more celebrated Macedonian contemporary by adding to his name ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, 'Son of Neoptolemus.'

One set of coins before the downfall of Persia bears the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; and those are the remarkable pieces, pl. x. 14, and others, struck under the direct authority of the Great King of Persia. But after Alexander had led the way, first his successful generals assumed the style of kings, and afterwards almost any ephemeral usurper; and finally the whole field of regal coins is taken up by a string of unmeaning titles, such as 'the God, the illustrious bringer of victory' on the coin of Antiochus IV. of Syria, pl. XIV. 14.

Besides the names of cities, of kings, tyrants, and magistrates, Greek coins of autonomous times bear only four important classes of legends. The first is the names of artists. The types of coins are sometimes signed in minute characters by engravers; but such signatures are peculiar to the period of finest art, and almost peculiar to Sicilian coins. There are numerous instances on our sixth plate, which will be mentioned in their place. It is sometimes doubtful whether the name on a coin be that of an artist or a magistrate; but artists' names are usually distinguishable through the smallness of the characters in which they are written; often also, through being placed actually on the type, and so being inseparable from it. The second class is marks of value, such as the words δραχμή, ὀβολός, and the beginnings of compounds such as diobol and trihemiobol, which are now and then found on coins of good time, though more frequently, as we shall hereafter see, the denomination of a coin is indicated by a slight variation in the type.

The third class, which although not peculiar to early coins is on them very common, consists of explanatory inscriptions. Over or beside a head or figure of deity, or hero, is written his name. As instances we may cite from early coins the name ΚΡΑΘΙΣ, from a coin of Pandosia, pl. I. 17; ΗΥΨΑΣ from one of Selinus, pl. II. 16; ΣΩΤΗΡ, as epithet of Zeus, on a coin of Galaria, pl. II. 1; ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, as title of Heracles, on a coin of Croton, pl. V. 2. So the word ΑΘΛΑ is written beside the armour, the prize of victory in the chariot-race, which occupies the exergue of Syracusan decadrachms, pl. VI. 25. At a later time we find on a coin of Locri, pl. XI. 34, the names ΡΩΜΑ and ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, placed to designate Roma and Fides as members of a group. With these merely explanatory legends we must be careful not to confuse others of a different character and later date. These partake rather of the character of dedication. For instance, when we find, on late coins of Syracuse, the word ΚΟΡΑΣ on a coin which bears the head of Persephone, pl. XI. 21, and ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ on one which bears the head of Zeus, pl. XI. 25, we at once suspect something of dedicatory meaning. And the suspicion is much confirmed when we find the full legend ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ on late coins of Ilium, pl. XIII. 16, which appear to be specially devoted to the honour of Athene, and may have issued from her temple; and the two legends ΘΕΩΝ and ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ on the two sides of

the well-known coins of Ptolemy II., pl. XIV. 30, words of which the first might be rendered 'in memory of departed majesty,' and the second 'to record fraternal affection.'

The last class of inscriptions consists of words or phrases introduced for a special purpose; a class not large, but of importance to the epigraphist. A few specimens may be cited from the plates. On pl. IV. 8, ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ, 'I am the mark or symbol of Phanes,' Phanes being perhaps a tyrant of Halicarnassus in Caria; and his type which thus speaks in the first person being a stag. On pl. XVI. 4, we have the legend ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ, which is abbreviated on XVI. 6, to ΣΥΝ, shewing that the coins thus inscribed belonged to an alliance. So the word ΙΕΡΗ, agreeing with the implied word δράχμη, on XVI. 5, states the class of the inscribed coin, a sacred piece issued from a temple.

There are several other inscriptions of this kind on autonomous Greek coins. On the copper coins issued by Greek cities during Roman times, there are a multitude of interesting inscriptions. As however our object at present is not to give any account of the epigraphy of Greek coins, but merely to shew the more ordinary forms of numismatic legends, especially such as occur on our plates, we must here stop short, and be content with the few words already written.

CHAPTER V.

Rights of Coinage.

The right to strike coin has been in all ages of the world a mark of complete political independence in matters monetary and commercial. But the three metals, gold, silver, and copper, of which the bulk of the world's coinage has always consisted, have been placed by custom and tradition in very different categories in this respect. As I have already stated, the only authority in the Persian Empire who had the right to issue gold coin was the Great King himself. He tolerated an issue of electrum by Cyzicus and Lampsacus, and allowed many Greek cities to mint their own silver coin, and even granted the same privilege to some of his own Satraps, but in the case of gold, made few or no exceptions. It is worth remarking, although the matter be not strictly within our province, that the custom of jealously guarding the monopoly of issuing gold coin descended to the Romans, during the time of whose supremacy no ruler or people within the confines of the Roman world dared to issue gold money except on rare occasions and by special permission. The right to issue silver was accorded by the Romans to a few cities and districts of the East, such as Antioch, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Crete, while on the other hand the issue of copper money was granted to many hundreds of towns in Asia and Europe.

Among the Greek cities of Hellas and Italy, as there was no overlord to exact tribute, so there was no dominant currency like that of the Darics in Persia. The condition of the Hellenic world, when it was a congeries of tiny republics each supreme over the few square miles possessed by its citizens, is exactly reflected in the enormous abundance and variety of coin-issues, each of which bespeaks a civic independence, peculiar religious cults, complete political organization. Lapse of time has doubtless deprived us of the coins of hundreds of independent cities, yet enough remains to shew us to what extent subdivision of independence was carried in Greece. We have money of more than fifty Greek cities of Sicily; the little island of Ceos, not ten miles across, had three active mints. At least fifteen cities of the remote district of Acarnania have left us coinages, some of them of great extent and variety. The number

of towns of which coins are mentioned in the work of Mionnet is nearly 1500; and since the publication of that work we have scores of new cities to add to the list. Little hill-fortresses, the inhabitants of which must have been numbered not by thousands but by hundreds, had their own types and their own mint, jealously guarding their right of coinage with the aid of two of the strongest sentiments of the Hellenic race, the love of autonomy and commercial jealousy.

Complete autonomy in their issues of coin was thus the rule among Hellenic cities. But it was a rule admitting of many exceptions, a survey of which may increase our knowledge of Greek political organization.

M. Lenormant, in his able and brilliant *History of Money in Antiquity*, says[1], 'Every city had its coin which it struck and regulated at will, acting in the 'matter with complete independence, in the isolation of its own sovereignty and 'without caring what course was taken by its nearest neighbours.' 'Hence an 'almost unlimited number of standards and monetary denominations.' There is however here a considerable exaggeration. The Greeks have always had a keen and sound commercial instinct, and it can scarcely be doubted that whatever their motives may have been in choosing their types, they would certainly in choosing their monetary standard take into consideration motives of commercial convenience, and issue coin of such a weight as to pass easily among their neighbours and allies. If we pass under a close scrutiny the classes of coins current in various districts at a given period, we shall generally find that they were calculated to exchange against one another in not unreasonable proportions. This however is a matter of pure numismatics, and one of far too great perplexity to be here more than touched on.

The main coinage of Greece consisting of the issues of independent cities, there passed current along with these other classes of money. Among these an important place must be given to coins belonging to the temples of various deities. It is generally allowed that the temples of Greece were some of the earliest minting-places. In most cases however during the two centuries succeeding the invention of coins the temple-mints were superseded by mints belonging to the state, and managed by magistrates specially selected for the purpose. Only in a few instances did the temples continue an independent issue. It is indeed not easy to separate the issues of temples from those of the cities to which they belong. But in a few cases we can clearly trace the connexion between a set of coins and a temple, where they must certainly have been minted. Thus there are drachms or hemidrachms of Milesian type, but distinguished from the coins of Miletus by bearing the inscription ἐγ Διδύμων ἱερή, pl. XVI. 5, which proclaims them the special mintage of the temple of the

[1] II. p. 54.

Branchidae at Didyma. It is indeed doubtful what word must be supplied after ἱερή, whether δράχμη or some other word, but in any case the general meaning of the inscription can scarcely be doubted. So too the appearance in the sixth century in Arcadia of an abundant issue of coins bearing a figure of Zeus Aphesius and a head of Artemis or Despoena, together with the legend Ἀρκαδικόν, pl. III. 43, 50, seems to drive us to the theory that this money was issued from a great temple. For as the Arcadians had not until the time of Epaminondas any political union, the generic term Ἀρκαδικόν cannot refer to such. But if political unity of the Arcadian race be not implied in the term, religious unity must be. So it has been concluded, and with great probability, that we have here a temple-coinage, issued by the priestly tribe of the city of Lycosura, and closely connected with the great temple of Zeus on the Lycaean mount, which was the common sanctuary of the whole Arcadian race, and in fact the chief bond of its union. A third instance of temple-coinage may be found in the rare piece issued by and bearing the name of the Amphictiones, pl. VII. 47, 44. This board, as is well known, had little political influence, but considerable religious importance, and close connexion with the two sanctuaries of Demeter at Thermopylae and Apollo at Delphi. At one or other of these temples the Amphictionic coins must probably have been struck either on the occasion of a festival, or in commemoration of some event which the Amphictiones supposed to be propitious to their cause, such as the defeat of the Phocians by Philip of Macedon. As a temple-coin must also be considered the early stater which bears the figure of Zeus thundering, and the legend Ὀλυμπικόν, which clearly was minted in the precincts of Olympia, and therefore, as there was no town there but only the temenos and the offices of Zeus, necessarily belongs to Zeus and to his festival.

Besides the coins which bear the name of the city which issued them, and those which appear to have emanated from temples, there are others which bear the names of Kings or Tyrants. It is however a very noteworthy fact that these are in almost all cases subsequent to the reign of Alexander. The King of Persia allowed some of his Satraps, and some of his dependent Kings in Cyprus and elsewhere to issue silver money in their own name, and in the same way he sometimes accorded this permission to the Tyrant of a Greek city within his dominions. Two instances will be sufficient. The great Themistocles, being constituted by the King of Persia after his flight from Greece Dynast of Magnesia in Ionia, struck there money in his own name, the letters MA being added to indicate the place of mintage. And some half-century later Tymnes. tyrant of Termera in Caria, issued money bearing alike his own name Τύμνου and that of his city Τερμερικόν. But such things were, in times before the conquest of Persia, all but unknown in Hellas and Magna Graecia. Dionysius

of Syracuse, the most despotic of despots, has left no trace whatever on the Syracusan coin, which through all his reign bears the mere ethnic Συρακοσίων. Nor does Jason the Tagus place his name on coins of Pherae. Jason's successor Alexander, and Teisiphon are exceptions to the rule just formulated. These two tyrants did place their names on Pheraean coin. But they stand, I believe, quite alone. Of all the numerous despots who ruled in Greek cities they alone had the impiety to usurp on coin the position of the cities which they oppressed. And even they did not presume to put their effigies in place of that of the civic deity of Pherae, Hecate. Of course chiefs of barbarian tribes, Thracians and Paeonians, and even the Kings of Macedon placed their names on their coins, but that was a different case, with them the coin was a regal not a civic issue; they determined the standard and regulated the mint, and naturally looked on the money as their own. They were in advance of their peoples in civilization; whereas in Greece proper the rule of a despot was always looked on as a disgrace to any city, and a retrogression.

Of course in the days after Alexander there was a great change in this respect. As King of Macedon, Alexander the Great, from the first, placed his name on his coins. And when, after the death of his young son Alexander, all his vast dominions lay open as a prize to be fought for by his marshals, these at once assumed the right of striking coins with their own names. At first indeed it was only their names which they placed upon coin, for they retained for a time the types of Alexander, only substituting their names for his. But after a time they innovated also in the matter of types, choosing for their money devices according to their own fancies. This second stage was reached, as we know, about the time of the battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, for Antigonus who lost his life in that battle did not adopt types of his own, but adhered to those of Alexander; Ptolemy, on the other hand, had already separate types before he adopted the title βασιλεύς, about B.C. 305. From the year 300 onwards, every ruler and every pretender in Asiatic Greece looked upon the issue of a coinage bearing his name as the sign of independence and a formal claim of sovereignty. Every satrap of the Seleucid Kings who revolted began at once to mint independently, not only the founders of great dynasties like Arsaces, Philetaerus, and Diodotus of Bactria, but mere ephemeral rebels like Molon, Achaeus, and Timarchus. And from Asia the custom spread over the world. Agathocles and Hicetas, Sicilian Kings, substitute on coins their own names for that of the Syracusans, and the name of Magas appears on money of Cyrene. Only in a few of the most conservative of Greek states do the people still retain their name on the coin. Thus at Sparta Areus issued, in place of the money pertaining to the state, coins bearing his own name but the types of Alexander, but Agis and Cleomenes return to the ancient Spartan custom. And thus at

Argos, Sicyon, and Megalopolis the coinage still remains civic, although we know from history that these cities fell under the successive sway of lines of tyrants. We cannot on the present occasion follow up in closer detail the relations of royal and civic coinages in Greece, but the subject is one which would repay a careful study, and furnish us with valuable information as to civic rights and royal prerogatives in Hellas.

The later times of Greece witnessed not only the rise of a class of Kings, but also federations among free cities which wished to preserve their liberties. This opens to us another interesting subject, monetary alliances and unions in antiquity, some of which indeed may be traced from very early times, but which became more usual and important in the days of decline.

CHAPTER VI.

Monetary Alliances.

Although in the autonomous days of Greece political alliances of cities were of course of extreme frequency, yet any alliance, whether political or commercial, of so great closeness as to affect the issue of coin in the allied states, is of the greatest rarity. Indeed we can easily mention in a few lines the clear and well-established instances. The earliest instances of distinct monetary alliances are to be found in Magna Graecia. The Greek cities of Southern Italy, being hemmed in on the landward side by warlike and for the most part hostile Italic tribes, were driven from the first into a close connexion with one another. So we hear of frequent alliances among them, whether against their barbarous neighbours, or one of their own number which had become formidable to the rest. Now it is an important fact that in early times, that is the sixth century B.C., we find that all, or almost all, the Greek cities of South Italy strike coins of a peculiar fabric, pl. I. 1. Their distinguishing mark is that they have on the obverse a type in relief, and on the reverse the same type incuse and turned in the opposite direction. What the type is depends of course on the city of issue: at Caulonia it is a remarkable figure of Apollo; at Poseidonia, Poseidon; at Croton, a tripod; at Sybaris, a bull; at Metapontum, an ear of corn; and so forth; but whatever is the type, the method of presenting it in duplicate is common to all the cities. And all the cities mint coins of almost exactly the same weight; there is no variety of standard. Numismatic writers are generally agreed in seeing in this uniformity of fabric and weight evidence of a South Italian monetary league, a league including alike Achaean and Dorian cities and commercial in its nature, for it seems independent of the varying political relations. But the evidence goes further still. We can point to several instances in which it appears from combinations alike of inscriptions and types that two or more of the great Greek cities of Italy combined to issue coins in common. Thus we have pieces issued by Pyxus and Siris[1], by Croton and Sybaris[2], pl. XVI. 1, by Poseidonia and Sybaris[3], pl. XVI. 2, &c. History tells us so little of these cities in early times that we can scarcely hope to gain

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat. Gr. Coins, Italy*, p. 283. [2] *Ibid.* p. 357. [3] *Ibid.* p. 287.

any fresh light from her as to these monetary conventions. There are, however, others as to which we are somewhat better informed. In Sicily, the city of Himera fell for a time (B.C. 481—467) under the rule of Theron and Thrasydaeus, successive Kings or Tyrants of Agrigentum. At just this period, to judge by style, we find that the coins of Himera[1], pl. XVI. 3, bear on the reverse the crab, which is one of the usual types of the Agrigentine coin. We have thus in these coins a distinct allusion to the union of the two cities under one ruler, a union in this case not merely commercial, but political. So the coins probably issued in Cyrene, pl. III. 27, which combine the types of that district with those of Lindus and Ialysus in Rhodes, are, with reason, conjectured to have been struck at the time when an army of Samians and Rhodians invaded Cyrene, about 530—25 B.C., in order to restore to the throne the banished King Arcesilaus III. The style of the piece agrees well with the assigned date. In this case too we seem to have a political rather than a monetary alliance.

Another alliance, which has left us numismatic memorials, is that formed by Timoleon in Sicily with a view to concerted action of all the Greek cities, and the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the island. 'When Timoleon had 'increased,' so says Diodorus[2], 'in force and in reputation for generalship, the 'Greek cities as many as were in Sicily eagerly submitted to Timoleon, because 'he had restored to all their autonomy; and embassies came in from many cities 'of the Sicels and Sicani and others under Carthaginian domination, eagerly 'pressing to be received into the league,' *συμμαχία*. Of this glorious league, coin No. 4 on pl. XVI. is a memorial. On the obverse is a head of Apollo Archegetes, the god who had led forth the Greek colonists when at first they sailed to Sicily, and who was the embodiment of their Hellenic nationality. On the reverse is the thunderbolt of Zeus Eleutherius and the inscription *Συμμαχικόν*, signifying that the coin belonged to the Greek league and was intended to pass current in all the cities which joined it. On other money of the same league occur, as types, the head of Zeus Eleutherius, the great liberator, the head of Sicelia herself in form of a nymph, and the torch and ears of barley of Persephone and Demeter, under whose special protection Timoleon set out on his liberating and consecrated expedition.

The discovery of numismatic confirmation of the existence of one of the least known of Greek alliances is due to the penetration of M. Waddington. After the battle of Cnidus, B.C. 394, in which Conon defeated the Lacedaemonians, we know from the testimony of Xenophon and Diodorus[3] that most of the cities of Asia and the Islands threw off the Spartan alliance and declared themselves autonomous under the protection of the conquerors. We possess

[1] *Cat. Sicily*, p. 78.

[2] XVI. 73. Cf. Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 39.

[3] See Grote, ch. 74.

coins, pl. XVI. 6, 7, issued at this period by the four states Cnidus, Ephesus, Samos, and Rhodes, which all alike bear on the obverse the figure of young Herakles strangling the serpents, with the inscription ΣΥΝ, and on the reverse the arms and part of the name of the mint-city. This word ΣΥΝ may be with probability of truth expanded into *Συνμαχία*[1], and we are almost certainly justified in holding with M. Waddington that the coins prove an alliance to have been concluded between the four places in question, and possibly other cities of which coins of this class do not survive. The type of the infant Herakles is taken from the coinage, pl. III. 48, of Thebes, the chief rival of the Sparta to which they were opposed. The weight is of an uncertain standard, but is uniform for all the allied cities, a proof that commercial as well as political reasons lay at the foundation of the alliance. The occurrence of the very same type on some gold staters of Lampsacus, pl. XVI. 8, would seem to shew that this city at least wished well to the alliance. It is also found on coins of the distant Zacynthus.

Purely commercial, on the other hand, is the very important convention among the cities of the Asiatic coast, which issued staters and hectae (sixths) of electrum in the fifth century before our aera. Of the staters of Cyzicus I have had occasion already to speak. Their wide circulation and great renown seem to have been the reasons which induced several cities of the Asiatic coast to issue electrum staters of the same kind as those of Cyzicus. Staters of Phocaea and of Lampsacus are known to have been laid up in the treasuries of Athens, and of the latter several specimens have of late years been discovered. And hectae of electrum were minted by a still larger number of cities, probably including Samos, Cebrenia, Cos, and a host of other places. These hectae appear on the face of them to be alliance coins, they are all of nearly the same shape, size, and weight, they are without inscriptions, and the attribution of them to the various mint-cities is a matter full of difficulty and doubt. But we know that sometimes these pieces of money were the subject of formal arrangements between cities. This is proved to demonstration by the still existing record of a monetary league entered into by Phocaea and Mytilene, which exists at Mytilene, and has been published by Mr Newton[2]. This treaty provides that the mints of the two contracting cities shall each issue during alternate years gold coins, no doubt the hectae of electrum which are still abundant, of a certain weight and fineness[3]. The times of issue are so arranged that when one mint is active the other shall be at rest. The coins that issue from the Phocaean mint are to circulate also at Mytilene, and those issued at Mytilene shall circulate at

[1] Or rather, as Mr Head suggests, *Συνμαχικόν*, *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 26.

[2] *Trans. R. S. Lit.* 2nd Series, VIII. 549.

[3] The portion of the treaty dealing with this matter is however lost.

Phocaea. The moneyer who issues coin of a lower standard than that fixed in the treaty shall suffer death, after a trial held in his own city and before a tribunal made up of magistrates of the two cities. This document affords us invaluable evidence of the kind of provisions made in the monetary unions of antiquity, and at the same time enlightens us on the subject of the arrangements adopted in civic mints.

We have now passed in rapid review the chief alliances, both monetary and political, among the Greeks which have left traces on their coins. But it remains to speak of the more permanent and close federations of Greek cities in Leagues, and the effects of these federations in the numismatic series. Perhaps the earliest of great Hellenic leagues, at least the earliest which requires mention here, is that which comprised the cities of Chalcidice in Macedon. It is well known how, early in the 4th century, the cities of the Macedonian coast, at the invitation of the Olynthians, formed a union[1] with a view to establishing identity of laws among themselves, reciprocal rights of citizenship and intermarriage, and to providing for mutual defence against the barbarous Illyrians and the encroaching Macedonian kings. The coins of the Chalcidian League are thoroughly characteristic. They are uniform, and bear no name but that of the Chalcidians. Their excellence leads us to suppose that they were struck at Olynthus itself, but of this we have not positive proof, so completely had the Olynthians merged themselves in the League. They are of one weight as would beseem a set of cities striving to assimilate their laws and customs. Finally they are of extreme beauty, and well worthy of an attempt which speaks of the best days of Greek art and Greek religion; see pl. VII. 12, 13.

Very different from these are the coins of the Achaean League of later Greece. In point of art these belong quite to the time of decay; yet they will interest the historical student deeply. The Deities represented on them are Zeus Homagyrius and Demeter Panachaea, the protecting divinities of the League. All coins bear either at length or in monogram the name of the Achaeans, together with which we find in the case of copper coins the name of the mint-city, in the case of silver coins a symbol or device which stands in the place of such name. In addition the silver frequently bears the name of a monetary magistrate. When we compare the coins issued under the League with those previously current in Peloponnese we see what great changes the League produced. It was no light thing for cities of old civilization to give up the types and monetary standards to which for centuries they had been attached, and strike money to pass interchangeably with that of rivals and lately hostile neighbours. The name of the mint-city alone belongs to it on the coin; all

[1] Grote, ch. 76.

else is ordered and regulated by the League. Corinth abandons Aphrodite, Argos Hera, and even Elis the great Olympian Zeus, in order to accept the effigies of the Deities of the League, though of far less account and less antiquity. They give up local customs and the trust of their ancestors, in the hope of attaining, through mutual concession and compromise, a utilitarian coinage to match the utilitarian union in which they unite to save themselves from destruction in times of danger and unquiet.

The Aetolian League was organized on other principles. Here the nation lived in villages, not in cities, and no sacrifice of ancient cults and traditions was necessary. Hence the coinage of the Aetolian League appears to us as simple and compact as that of a single city, see pl. XII. 42, 40. Probably it all issued from one mint; almost certainly the right of minting silver money was withdrawn from cities of Central Greece which fell into the hands of the League, since we find that even copper money of Aetolian types was only allowed to bear the name of the city which minted it in the case of a few places at some distance outside the Aetolian border, such as Oeta and Amphissa. More distant cities, which merely paid a tribute to the Aetolian chiefs, probably retained their customs of mintage unimpaired. For the object of the Aetolian League was not the spread of a policy, but the acquisition of plunder; their own autonomy the people knew how to protect, but it was quite outside the line of their conduct to try to strengthen Greece against her many enemies by internal cohesion. The Epirote and Acarnanian Leagues which like the Aetolian were compressed and centralized, also seem to have issued coin from a single mint, and bearing only the name of the League in its inscriptions.

CHAPTER VII.

Mother-cities and Colonies.

The relations of Greek mother-cities to their colonies spread over the shores of the Mediterranean and the Euxine form one of the most intricate as well as one of the most interesting subjects of enquiry which can engage a student of Greek history. This subject I propose to discuss from a numismatic point of view, investigating the relations which hold between mother-cities and colonies in regard to coin-types and coin-weights. And it can scarcely be doubted that the results which we thus reach by an inductive road will be of solid value.

I have mentioned coin-types and coin-weights as the two matters in which we may look for signs of connexion between mother-city and colony. But the connexion which is indicated by identity of type considerably differs from that indicated by identity of monetary standard. When a colony keeps the types of the mother-city it thereby attaches itself to the deities of its home and their temples, it sets up a claim to remain under their protection although far off on a foreign soil. On the other hand, by retaining the monetary system of the mother-city, the colony merely shews that it remains in close commercial connexion with her and is one of the depots of her trade. And the latter kind of connexion was in Greece far less durable than the former.

In the case of colonies founded by the cities of Greece in days long before the invention of coinage, that is to say in those founded in the eighth and previous centuries, we find very few instances in which the types are those of the mother-city. In these, new cults had before the invention of coins superseded those which the colonists brought from home. The protecting deities of Miletus and Ephesus were not the Pallas of Athens and the Ionian Poseidon respectively, but the Apollo of Didyma and the Asiatic Artemis. And when Miletus in turn founded Cyzicus and Heraclea and Sinope on the shores of the Euxine, these cities took as the object of their chief cultus not the Milesian sun god but local divinities of less widely extended fame. The cities of Chalcidice in Macedonia placed themselves under the protection of a variety of deities not in any way special to Euboea, whence they were founded. Tarentum took as chief deity the non-Dorian Poseidon and his son Taras,

forgetful of her Laconian origin, and at Cyrene the worship of Zeus Ammon and Apollo Aristaeus overshadowed those of the deities brought by Battus from Thera. Considering the strength of the tendency which made the Greeks, at least when they settled among cognate nations, ready to adopt the local deities whom they found in possession of the sites chosen for their colonies as the protecting deities of those colonies, to the partial effacement of ancestral divinities, we need not wonder if we find these new adopted gods in the place of honour also on the coins of thoroughly Hellenic colonies. There are certain exceptions however. Naxos in Sicily presents us on its earliest coins with the head of Dionysus, chief god of the island whence the city derived its name; and Neapolis in Macedon preserves in its early coins a trace of Athenian origin in the Gorgoneion of Athene there figured. In some cases colonies which do not retain the types of the mother-city retain her monetary system. Thus the cities of the Macedonian Chalcidice preserve the Euboic standard in the midst of cities which follow other monetary systems; and the Milesian colonies of the Euxine still retain the Persian standard which they inherited from their foundress Miletus, even in times long subsequent to the fall of Miletus, when Athens and Rhodes successively predominated in the commerce of the district.

However, from the time of the Persian conquest of Ionia onwards we find a changed state of things. When the inhabitants of several of the towns of Asia Minor fled westward before the generals of Cyrus and Darius they took their coins with them. In those days all the more important of the Graeco-Asiatic cities had a settled coinage with fixed types, and these the flying inhabitants mostly carried to their new homes in the West. Thus the establishment of a coinage tended to fix and perpetuate the cults proper to a community, and give them roots among the inhabitants even if these deserted their native dwelling-place.

Immediately after the arrival of the Persian armies on the sea-shore two cities of Ionia, Phocaea and Teos, were deserted by their inhabitants. In B.C. 544 the people of Phocaea migrated to Corsica, thence fell back to Southern Italy, where they founded Velia, and finally settled at Massilia in Gaul. It is an interesting fact that alike near Massilia, at Velia, and in Asia Minor are found pieces of money bearing the Phocaean type, a demi-lion tearing the prey, pl. XVI. 11. There can be little doubt that the Phocaeans took these coins with them on their long journey, and in all probability continued to issue them at both their new settlements. In after days Massilia modified but did not abandon the Phocaean type, for though introducing on the obverse of her coins a head of Artemis, she still retained on the reverse the lion, a creature quite foreign to Gaul; and most of the later coins of Velia bear a still closer likeness to the money of the mother-city in the type of their reverse, a lion in the act of

tearing the prey. What interests us at the instant, however, is the primitive community of coins between Phocaea and her colonies. The coins 11 and 12 of pl. XVI. were found at Marseilles, but pieces in all respects closely similar to No. 11 are found in numbers at Velia in Italy.

The people of Teos at just the same period passed over to the Thracian coast, where they founded the city of Abdera. And so like are the coins of Abdera, pl. XVI. 10, to those of Teos, No. 9, that it is by no means easy to discriminate between the issues of the two cities, except by weight, the Abderites abandoning, no doubt from motives of commercial expediency, the Babylonic for the Phoenician monetary standard.

At a somewhat later period, early in the 5th century, a party of Samians sailed westwards, and became subjects of Anaxilaus of Rhegium, in Italy; afterwards they passed the straits and settled at Messana in Sicily. In both of these cities they have left traces of their influence in coins bearing the Samian types, the heads of a lion and of an ox, see pl. XVI. 13, the Rhegine coin being No. 14 of pl. XVI., and the Messanian coin, No. 15.

At Rhegium the lion's head remains as a type through all periods, no doubt as a memorial of some cultus founded in the city by the immigrants. And there have been found in Italy some coins actually bearing Samian types, with regard to which it has been disputed whether they belong to Messana or to Samos, the claim to them of the former city being made the more weighty by the fact that they follow the standard of weight in use in Sicily and not that in use at Samos.

Of colonies founded at a later period one of the most remarkable was that established by the Athenians at Thurium in Italy, about B. C. 443, a colony in the founding of which a part was taken by Herodotus the historian. This colony was placed near the site of the ancient Sybaris. It will be remembered that Sybaris was destroyed by the people of Croton about B. C. 510. At that early period the coins of the city had but a single type, the bull, pl. XVI. 16, the symbol probably of Poseidon. Early in the fifth century[1] an attempt had been made to restore the city by descendants of the old inhabitants; but it failed owing to the opposition of the Crotoniates. Of this attempt we have numismatic memorials in coins stamped on one side with the bull, and bearing the name of Sybaris (ΣΥ), but having as obverse type a figure of Poseidon, No. 17, whence we may fairly conclude that a considerable share in the attempted restoration of the city was taken by the people of the neighbouring Poseidonia. Next came the Athenian colony; which however did not occupy the actual site of Sybaris, nor did they choose in all respects to adopt the Sybarite traditions although many of the original habitants of Sybaris, or of the children

[1] *Diod. Sic.* XI. 90, XII. 10.

of such inhabitants, were among them. The coins which they issued, No. 18, reflect the conditions of the case; on the obverse is a head of the Athenian Pallas, her helmet bound with the sacred olive; but on the reverse is the bull of Thurium, looking back just as on the earliest Sybarite coins. But before long a further change took place. Possibly to conciliate jealous neighbours, or may be for some other cause unknown to us the new colonists dropped the name of Sybaris, and adopted in its place that of Thurium, derived probably from the appellation of a stream hard by. And at the same time, though they retain the bull on the coin, yet his character changes. Instead of being a Poseidonian symbol as formerly, he becomes the βοῦς θούριος, the rushing or butting bull, which was the symbol of swift and strong streams, No. 19. Thus the whole numismatic history of Sybaris fits in with its political history; and if we look carefully at its types at any period we can see at a glance the proportion then existing between ancestral and external influences.

Among the great colonizing cities of Hellas there is one of which the colonies retain a coinage in all respects similar to its own. This is Corinth. Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia and other cities issue staters which can be distinguished from those of Corinth only by the mint-mark; the colonies placing their own initial-letter A, Λ, &c., in the place of the Corinthian ϙ. On plate XVI. No. 20 is a coin of Corinth, No. 21 of Leucas. This remarkable fact, when we come carefully to consider it, is by no means incapable of explanation. The Corinthian colonies which were ranged all along the coast of Acarnania and Epirus, not only received from Corinth their religious cults, but were also completely within the mesh of Corinthian commerce. The country close about the Ambracian Gulf was more completely under Corinthian influence than the country between Corinth and Sicyon; and without the aid of Corinthian triremes the Hellenic colonies of the district would have been unable even for a short time to hold their own against the semi-barbarous tribes of the interior, Molossians, Acarnanians and Thesprotians, who were continually pressing them towards the sea. Thus it was not without good grounds that the Corinthian envoy boasts, in the narrative of Thucydides, of the loyalty and affection shewn by the Corinthian colonies for their mother city.

This close loyalty was not of course the characteristic of all the Corinthian colonies. Corcyra, for instance, was, as everyone knows, mostly bitterly hostile to Corinth. And when we turn to the coins of Corcyra, we find indications of this attitude. The coinage of Corcyra does not begin until late in the sixth century when this hostility was fully developed. And so neither in matters religious nor commercial does the Corcyrean coin shew similarity to the Corinthian. The Corcyrean type, a cow suckling a calf, see XVI. 24, is taken from the religion of Euboea, from the cult of an oriental goddess transformed into that of Hera. And in fact there is a tradition of an Euboic colony in the island of Corcyra in

pre-Corinthian days; so that the people had some justification in looking to Eretria rather than the Acrocorinthus for the seats of their original patron deities. And the Corcyrean standard is that of Aegina the great rival of Corinth, a standard no doubt convenient for adoption as current in the whole of Peloponnese, yet the adoption of which was a marked and probably intentional defiance to Corinth. And both Euboic type and Aeginetan standard are adopted by the two Corcyrean colonies on the shores of Illyria, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, which were as closely dependent on their mother-city as were the Corinthian colonies a few leagues further to the south on theirs. Indeed the coins of the three states of Corcyra, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia are quite uniform and distinguished by the inscription only. 24 of plate XVI. is a coin of Corcyra, and 25 of Dyrrhachium. The obverse of these pieces is the symbol, as I have said, of an eastern goddess, the reverse seems to be a floral pattern connected with the worship of a pastoral deity Aristaeus or Apollo Nomius, whose cult flourished in Corcyra and seems to have thence passed to her colonies.

Neither so hostile to Corinth as Corcyra, nor so loyal to her as Leucas and Anactorium were the great Dorian colonies of Sicily, among which Syracuse was the most notable. The types of Syracuse were originally taken from the cultus of the Olympian Zeus and the local Persephone or Arethusa. But from the earliest times the monetary system, although in the main Attic or Euboic, had contained a Corinthian element in the litra, which was recognized as the tenth of the Corinthian stater, and was to some extent the basis of the Syracusan currency. But when in the days of her depopulation Syracuse applied for aid to Corinth as her metropolis, and received the splendid aid of a real hero, Timoleon, she displayed her gratitude and her affection for the Corinthian connexion by issuing coins of Corinthian weight and types, No. 22, many of which remain to our day, as a perpetual memorial of one of the most pleasing episodes in Greek history. And even Leontini, which was in origin not Dorian, at the same period adopted Corinthian monetary types, probably as a sign of personal gratitude to the great Timoleon and to mark the sense felt by the Sicilians of the difference of the parts played by Athens and by Corinth in the history of the Island.

The policy of Athens in regard to the numerous colonies which she sent out during the 5th century is noteworthy. It does not appear that she permitted, in the places where her *cleruchi* established themselves, any independent issue of silver money. Aegina, Samos, Euboea and Melos cease to issue money of silver at the period when they fall under Athenian dominion. For this there may have been special reasons. The mines at Laurium furnished an abundant supply of silver to the Athenians which it was to their interest to pass into circulation; and as Athenian money was current in almost all parts of the Levant, it must have been very convenient to the colonists still to use it even after they left their native country.

II.

THE TYPES OF GREEK COINS.

CHAPTER I.

Religious Character of Coin-types.

It is well known that religion lay in almost every matter at the basis of Greek life. The art, the drama, the poetry of that gifted people were originally consecrated to the service of the Gods. The Gods were revered not only as higher powers, but as founders of cities and ancestors of families, as the inventors of all useful arts, and the constructors of valuable public works. Thus too coinage is supposed to have been invented in honour of the deities, and certainly bears from its earliest infancy the signs of their influence and marks of dedication to them. This is a fact which is now universally recognized; but the merit of having first directed attention to it and set it fully forth must be given to Mr Burgon of the British Museum[1]; more recently it has been ably worked out by Prof. Ernst Curtius[2], whose great historical work bears on every page traces of his thorough acquaintance with all classes of the remains of antiquity.

In the times when coinage took its rise the temples of the Gods were the great repositories of treasure, of which the priests well knew how to make use. "They made use of the sacred precincts of the temples as places for the reception of valuable deposits in times of universal insecurity; they made advances to communities and individuals; they took part in profitable undertakings; on their support was dependent the possibility of colonization beyond the seas. As, therefore, power of wealth concentrated in the temples, it becomes highly probable that all essential progress in the knowledge of the value of the precious metals, as well as the institution of money as a medium of exchange, emanated from these centres[3]."

[1] In an admirable paper in the *Numismatic Journal*, 1837.

[2] His paper translated in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1870.

[3] Curtius, l.c.

An examination of the early coins themselves will tend to strengthen this probability. Among all deities the most commercial in character was the Sidonian Astarte, a goddess related to the Babylonian Mylitta and by the Greeks called sometimes Aphrodite, sometimes Artemis, and sometimes Hera, for indeed she resembled in some respects each of those deities. The sanctuary of this deity "formed the kernel of every Sidonian factory, whence we find her worship on all the coasts of the Archipelago devoted to maritime intercourse. Every occupation, trade or industry, such as fishing and mining, when pursued by the inhabitants, was under her protection. Through her means did the precious metals, with the Babylonian system of value and weights, make their way into Greece." Now it is not a little remarkable that the sacred symbols of this deity and of her Greek equivalents are the most frequent on early coins. The lion at Sardes and at Samos, and Phocaea and Miletus, the cow suckling a calf at Eretria in Euboea, the dove at Sicyon, and more especially the tunny-fish at Cyzicus, and the tortoise at Aegina, are the figures which mark the earliest coins, and one and all of these creatures are closely connected with the worship of the commercial Sidonian goddess. That they mark the coin as belonging to her can scarcely be doubted, although a doubt may remain in what sense it was hers. And in view of this doubt it may be well to cite one or two important facts. In the Cnidian temple of the Pythian Apollo Mr Newton discovered marble vessels marked with a lyre, and evidently thus indicated as the property of the God. Some of the coins of Miletus, pl. XVI. 5, bear the inscription ἐγ Διδύμων ἱερή, plainly signifying that they at any rate belong in a peculiar degree to the temple of Didyma, and were there minted for the purposes of the priests. The mint at Rome was as we know in the temple of Juno Moneta, and it is more than probable that the Romans in this matter followed Greek precedent. Considering these and other facts it may be held to be probable, if not absolutely proved, that priests first issued stamped coin, and that the first mints were in temples. The priests of the Phoenician Aphrodite, says Curtius, "first collected stores of the precious metals and marked with the symbol of the Deity the ingots belonging to the Temple-treasury. The weighed and stamped lumps of metal were then put into circulation to the furtherance of a commerce profitable to the priesthoods."

That the earliest coins were issued by temples is a theory, plausible indeed and quite legitimate, but still a theory. But as to the religious meaning of coin-types there can be no question whatever. No doubt after the first the issue of coin became a concern of municipal and other government, and the types they bore were the arms or the emblem specially belonging to the city whence they proceeded. But among the Greeks the arms of every city were religious. Those who are at all acquainted with the customs of Greek symbolism are

aware that in sculpture and relief and painting cities are commonly personified by the guardian deity to whom they more especially belonged. Athens, in the reliefs in which she is represented as rewarding with wreaths and honours citizens and strangers, regularly takes the shape of Pallas Athene. Smyrna is embodied in reliefs in the person of its foundress the Amazon Smyrna, Laodicea in its Zeus, and so forth. But to place the figure of the chief deity of cities on their coins, although that is sometimes done as early as the sixth century, at Poseidonia, pl. I. 2, for instance, and Caulonia, pl. I. 1, and in Arcadia, pl. III. 15, 16, is not usual. It was more usual to put merely the head of that deity, the part standing for the whole. Thus on some of the earliest coins of Athens, pl. III. 20, 21, we find a head of Pallas, and on the earliest coins of Naxos, the island, pl. III. 19, which must date from early in the sixth century, we have a head of Dionysus. But it is still more usual, especially in Asia and in the very earliest ages of coining, to introduce on coin neither the form nor the head of a deity, but rather a symbol well-known and recognized in local cult as belonging to that deity. No doubt such symbol belonged to the town as well as the divinity, but the former had adopted it from the latter. Thus the owl belonged in a peculiar degree to Pallas, and from her it was adopted as a sign by the city of Athens; it was impressed on the Athenian coins from the first, pl. III. 53. And we are told that the Samian prisoners captured by Pericles in his celebrated expedition to Samos were marked or branded with an owl, which stamped them slaves of the Athenians. On the other hand the Samians branded upon their Athenian captives on the same occasion a ship, the ship being a symbol proper to the maritime deity of the island whom the Samians called Hera, and from her taken by the city of Samos and impressed on its coins.

It is of course generally recognized that in many cases the type of a coin is of religious meaning. Every one would allow that the owl is a sign or representative of the goddess Pallas, that the lyre is a sign of Apollo, the wine-cup of Dionysus, the trident of Poseidon. But we may go beyond this admission and assert that all the types of early Greek coins are religious. This is by no means so generally allowed. For example: the early coins of Metapontum are marked with an ear of corn, cf. pl. V. 27. This is frequently said to contain an allusion to the fertility of the Metapontine territory: but it is certain that it has reference rather to Demeter herself, the giver of fertility and queen of cornfields. The shield of Boeotia and of Macedon are often supposed to be mere copies of the kind of armour in use in those districts respectively. In my opinion the Boeotian shield is the shield of Herakles and the Macedonian that of Ares, both of these being armed national divinities. The youth in the act of taming a bull, who appears on the money of certain cities of Thessaly, pl. III. 32, 33, is not to my eyes an ordinary young man engaged in a feat fashionable in the

country, but one of the national heroes of Thessaly, in the performance of some historic task, Jason perhaps, who had to yoke the brazen-footed oxen to the plough; and who, like all Greek heroes, had regular temples and priests and sacrifices at stated seasons. The rose at Rhodes, pl. x. 21, contains no punning allusion to the name of the island, but is the flower sacred to the great semi-Greek sun-god of the island. The parsley-leaf at Selinus does not merely allude to the abundance of the plant on the site of the city, but probably belongs to the Zeus of Nemea, who gave the parsley crown to the victors in his games. The horse at Pherae does not allude to the goodness of horses in that city but is a symbol of Poseidon, god of waves and streams, of which horses are the natural emblems. The wolf on the Argive coins does not shew that when it was struck wolves were to be found in the mountains of Argolis, but belongs to either Ares or Apollo Lycius, two of the deities of the city. Instances might be indefinitely multiplied. On the early coins of Persia we find the Great King bending his bow; and on the coins of Sidon, the king of that city moving in his chariot. But to the Greeks this tasted of barbarism. The gods alone had a right to the coin, the gods and deified heroes. The head of a man does not make its appearance on any Greek money until the successors of Alexander, having already raised him to the rank of a deity, put his effigy there; and their baser descendants, as they did not scruple to deify themselves, so neither did they scruple to usurp on coins the places of Olympian deities and national heroes.

There are indeed certain classes of early types the religious character of which might be perhaps at first doubted, though not with justice. Such for example are the agonistic types. When Anaxilaus of Rhegium won the race for mule-chariots at Olympia, he began to stamp his money with a chariot drawn by mules. So Gelon of Syracuse placed on coins of that city his quadriga which had been victorious at the Olympic festival. At a later age Philip placed on his money the horse which had won a similar victory, still bearing round its neck the wreath of success. In the same way a number of cities of Sicily, and even Cyrene in Africa, used the victories of their citizens in order to perpetuate on coins the memorial of Olympic success. But these instances constitute no real exception to the religious character of Greek coins. For in early days at all events agonistic festivals had an intensely religious tinge, and the honour of the god to whom they were dedicated was the chief object sought by the competitors and thought of by the presiding magistrates. The Sicilian cities which adopted the chariot-type did not seek to make a mere vulgar ostentation of success in the chariot-race, but wished to perpetuate their successful devotion to the Deity of Olympia, and the pains they had taken in his service, and in return to claim his favour and protection for their prosperity and safety.

There is another class of types called in heraldic or numismatic language

types parlants or canting-devices, types which seem to contain a trivial allusion to the name of the cities which used them. The religious character of these does not at once appear. I have already mentioned the leaf of selinon or parsley which forms the type of the coins of Selinus, and the rose which is the type of Rhodes. Other instances of the same sort occur at Melos, the type of which island is the pomegranate (*μῆλον*), at Phocaea where the type is a phoca or seal, pl. IV. 7, at Zancle where it is a sickle, pl. II., 14, and so forth. In all these cases I should prefer to see in the type a relic of the sacred legend which gave the name to the city in question rather than a mere punning device such as might attract a modern herald, but would have appeared at the time of the invention of coinage to savour of impiety. Certainly parsley, rose and pomegranate were closely connected with the cults of deities, and the like connection probably existed in the other cases mentioned. Perhaps the least religious in appearance of all the canting-devices is that of the city of Ancona, which adopted as its type an arm bent at the elbow (*ἀγκών*). But even in this case there may probably have been some religious tale or myth connecting the symbol with the history of the town. And if not, we must remark that the town of Ancona issued money only at a late period, and was by no means entirely Greek.

Let us briefly try to follow the process by which in the first instance a city appropriated types to its coin. We are at present speaking, it must be remembered, only of the archaic coinage of Greece.

We must try to rid our minds of the notion that cities in early times, when they began an issue of coins, went about searching for a type, like some self-made man looking for a crest or a coat-of-arms. Types were not adopted; rather they grew. The deity who is the patron of the coinage of a city was not selected at random among the various gods to whom honour was paid at that place, but assumed the post by some undisputed right; although we cannot always be sure what that right was. In many cases it was no doubt, as Curtius has suggested, because coins were first issued from his temple and stamped by his priest. This would seem to be the case more especially with the deities Astarte and Melkarth and their Greek representatives and equivalents Aphrodite and Herakles, to whom belongs a very large share in archaic coins. More frequently the deity to whom a whole state was consecrated naturally took the coin also under his protection. For example we can scarcely imagine Athenian coin issued under any other auspices than those of Athene, or Milesian coin under other auspices than those of the Apollo of Branchidae, or Samian coin under any protection except that of the Samian Hera. To this rule there are many exceptions for a variety of reasons, some of which I shall have to mention in future chapters, but still it is the rule in times before the Persian wars.

The Deity who was to be the patron of the coinage of a city being thus fixed, or rather having thus assumed his rightful post, the type of the coin was fixed by reference to him. And this was done in early times, as I have already stated, less frequently by engraving his figure or his head on the die than by placing there some recognized symbol of his power. And the choice of this symbol again was not fortuitous but flowed at once from the local character and attributes of the God. At Croton the symbol of Apollo is the tripod, pl. XVI. 1, the special property of the Delphic God, under whose direction and leadership the colony of Croton had been formed. At Colophon the same deity is represented by his lyre; at Argos by the wolf who was the creature of Apollo Lycius, the deity of light and the sun; in the island of Carpathos by a dolphin, the animal of Apollo Delphinius or Delphidius; at Miletus by a lion, who belongs indeed in the east to the sun-god, but seems at first sight more appropriate to Herakles than to Apollo. So also at Teos, pl. XVI. 9, the Apolline symbol is the griffin, the favourite of the Hyperborean Apollo; at Ialysus in Rhodes the eagle, bird of the sun; at Clazomenae the winged boar; at Cyrene the silphium-plant, the gift of Apollo in his variety of Aristaeus; at Abdera the lion slaying an ox, pl. III. 13, a truly oriental symbol of the burning-power of the Sun-God. So in the case of Artemis. The bee which is placed as her mark on the coins of Ephesus, pl. XVI. 7, is not connected with the real Hellenic Artemis at all, nor is the sphinx, which is her mark at Perga, an old semi-Greek city of Pamphylia. So too of Aphrodite. In Cyprus the coins minted under her protection bear the non-Hellenic symbols of a ram and a *crux ansata*, the Egyptian sign for life; at Sicyon her mark is one of her temple-doves, at Aegina the tortoise of Astarte, at Cnidus the lion of Cybele, the great Asiatic goddess to whom she is closely akin. And so of Poseidon. At Rhaucus in Crete, where he is domiciled among a nautical people, his mark is the trident, among the horse-loving aristocracy of Thessaly it is the horse.

I may remark in passing how important is in this aspect the testimony of coins as tending to correct our notions of the Hellenic Pantheon. To us Apollo is a defined personality and occupies a fixed place in the Hellenic Pantheon. We gain our notion of his being from Homer and the later writers who worked on the lines of Homer. The stories and myths as to his birth and doings, his relationships and character, which we find in such writers as Pausanias and Apollodorus, we scarcely read and are inclined to look on them as debased inventions. And yet these myths are almost all local, and in each place in which a myth was current the popular conception of the deity was modified by it or framed from it in early times. The Apollo whom the Rhodians worshipped was not the Delphic purifying deity, but the God of the sun and the rose, the husband of Rhodos and the father of Electryona and the Heliadae. In later

times no doubt, when literature and education had spread, the local conception of Apollo, which was probably of Semitic origin, was overlaid with the national myths; but this was certainly not the case in the sixth century before our aera. Then the local tales as preserved by important schools of hereditary priests and as commemorated by extant monuments, or rather we may say fetishes, were supreme. The more wealthy and travelled classes would add to and modify those local tales from the works of the rhapsodists or in consequence of a journey to the great cities and great agonistic festivals of Greece; but the common people would accept them almost undiluted. The people of Ephesus were madly devoted to the service of the many-breasted Asiatic goddess, whom it was very misleading to call by the name of the Hellenic huntress-queen Artemis. The common people of Phigaleia were faithful servants of the black Demeter with a horse's head, and would have been loath to merge her in the great deity of Eleusis and the Mysteries. And these local conceptions and beliefs which a historian is obliged to take into account, but of which we find scarcely a trace in literature worthy of the name, have a very great influence on the types chosen for coins, from which they can be collected and recovered.

It should be distinctly remembered that the rules which I have laid down, as well as the instances by which I have enforced those rules, belong primarily to the period before the Persian wars. After that memorable period we have greater variety in the types of coins, and a far greater variety of choice in their motives gradually makes its way. They do not as yet cease to be religious in character, but no longer belong at all exclusively to the one deity who is the head of the city, but rather to any whom the city may hold in special honour and to whom it may have erected temples. Some states, whether from motives of religious or of commercial conservatism, preserve their old types quite unchanged, but these are few. The introduction of a reverse-type in place of the old mere incuse square or punch-mark, is in many places taken advantage of for the introduction of the effigy or the attribute of a second deity to be associated with the first, even if no other change takes place.

Of all Greek coinages the most conservative as regards types is that of Athens. The earliest Athenian coins, dating from early in the sixth century, present us with the head of Athene on the one side and her owl on the other, and the very latest silver coins, which are given to about the time of Sulla the Dictator, preserve the same types, which are continued all through the intervening period with scarcely an exception. No doubt the chief reason of this persistence is to be found in the wide circulation of the Athenian coins which were current right into the heart of Asia and Arabia. Barbarous peoples, as is well-known, grow accustomed to certain classes of coins and accept them in preference to all others. As an instance I may mention that to this day the dollars

of Maria Theresa are currently accepted in Abyssinia. This favour the Athenian coins had acquired in several parts of Asia, chiefly on account of the purity of their metal. Therefore the Athenians were prudently very averse from changing their character, lest this wide-spread popularity should be brought into danger.

Corinth, the second if not the first city of Greece as regards commerce, was almost as conservative as Athens. In very early times she had combined on her coins an armed head, which belongs either to the armed Aphrodite or to Athene, with the winged horse Pegasus, which was probably sacred to Poseidon and connected with the Isthmian festival which was held in his honour. And these two types still continue to mark the coins of Corinth down to its absorption into the Achaean league. Thus too the tortoise is the only type of the Aeginetans until their island was taken from them by Athens: the Samians retained the lion and the bull, the Chians the sphinx, the people of Ephesus the bee and the stag, the people of Sicyon the chimaera and the dove, down to B.C. 300 or later. Many more instances of this class might be added, but it is unnecessary.

At Thebes after the Persian wars a type from a second cult, that of Dionysus, is added to the original shield of Herakles. But here while the shield remains scarcely varied on one side of the coin the other shews a great variety of devices, though all taken from the cycle of Heracleian or Dionysiac myths which had their centre at Thebes. In the same way at Cos at this period the types of Apollo and of Herakles are combined; at Olympia Zeus shares the patronage of the coin with Hera and Nike, at Corcyra Dionysus appears as assessor of Apollo Aristaeus. And at the same time a number of lesser deities and of heroes make their way to a place beside the great πολιοῦχοι θεοί, Jason in Thessaly, the river-god Gelas at Gela, the nymph Himera at Himera in Sicily, the nymph Olympia at Elis, Ajax at Locri, Odysseus in Ithaca, and so forth.

Let us take the series of coins issued by two or three other Greek civic communities, and see if we can trace in the succession of types a reason and a meaning. First Elis, a city the coins of which I have submitted to a special study[1]. As might be expected, the presiding deity of the money of Elis is the great Zeus of the neighbouring Olympia, and his effigy as well as his attributes occur continually from B.C. 500 to the absorption of Elis into the Achaean league B.C. 191. These attributes are as follows: (1) Nike, his daughter and servant, whom he sent to reward those who laboured best in his honour at the games, pl. III. 14, 42; (2) an eagle, usually bearing in its talons a serpent or a hare, which is the portent sent by Zeus to reveal his will to men, as may be instanced from the Iliad, pl. III. 52; (3) the thunderbolt, specially appropriate to the Deity of weather and sky, pl. VIII. 24; (4) the olive-wreath with which

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1879, p. 221.

the Olympian deity rewarded his athletes, pl. VIII. 30; all these types occur and recur continually. Hera the other great Olympic deity makes her appearance on the coin of Elis first about B.C. 420; but we do not find in any case there the attributes which in other cities of Greece belong to her worship, such as the peacock, or the sceptre. At Elis she merely shares the symbols of the Olympian God, the thunderbolt and the eagle, she is absorbed by his greater fame and splendour, and has no independent attributes. At a somewhat later period, about B.C. 365, a local nymph, Olympia, occupies sometimes a place on the Eleian coin, pl. VIII. 27, but she also is a mere dependent and satellite of Zeus, with whose monopoly of dominion she in no way interferes. If we add that in the second century B.C. a few new devices in honour of Zeus, such as the horse, make their appearance, we shall have exhausted all the types of the Eleian coins, which are throughout pervaded by a single idea, and filled with the glory of one deity.

Next we may take the coinage of Ephesus[1], which runs over a period even longer than that occupied by the coins of Elis. We here find that from the earliest issues to the year B.C. 295 the types of the city are constant, a bee, a stag and a palm-tree, all three symbols of the great Asiatic goddess whose worship was adopted by the Greek colonists of Ephesus, when they arrived under the Athenian Androclus. One only exception occurs, in or about the year 394, when the type of the young Herakles strangling the serpents makes its appearance, pl. XVI. 7, a result of a political alliance which I have already mentioned.

About the year B.C. 295 we begin to see on the Ephesian coin the results of the conquests of Alexander, and the changes they had wrought. Now for the first time in the place of the mystic symbols of the Ephesian goddess we are presented with her effigy, pl. XIII. 13. But that effigy is no reproduction of the rude many-breasted statue which stood in the great Ephesian temple, but belongs to a purely Greek Artemis, and the coin bears on its reverse in some cases the bow and the quiver, purely Hellenic attributes of the goddess. Also for a little while the Deity herself has to give way to a human rival. For a time the very name of the city was altered by Lysimachus, and changed for Arsinoe, which was the name of a favourite wife. And as a concomitant of the change of name, Arsinoe was substituted for Artemis as foundress and divine mistress of the city, and her head, pl. XIII. 12, as is natural, for a time expels the head of Artemis from the coin. But for a time only. No sooner was the power of Lysimachus broken in Asia than these changes passed away and the old order was resumed, save that Artemis still keeps for a time her Hellenic complexion and attributes. These endure for about a century to the year 202 B.C.

[1] Head in *Num. Chron.* 1880, p. 85.

By that time the wave of Greek expansion had spent itself, and the conservative and Asiatic tendencies of the Ephesian people had reasserted themselves. The bee, the stag, and the palm once more stamp the coin, and after a time in addition to these we even find the many-breasted figure of the Goddess herself, a shape too barbarous to have been tolerated at an earlier time. But, though she has not before bodily appeared, she has dominated the Ephesian coinage during every period except the brief reign of Arsinoe.

We have taken as instances a city of Hellas and a city of Asia; for a third example I will cite the greatest city of the West, Syracuse[1]. The prevailing tone of the Syracusan coinage is from the first agonistic. The tetradrachm is in early times stamped with a quadriga, pl. II. 9, the didrachm with a pair of horses, pl. II. 11, the drachm with a single horse with its rider. Thus the number of horses shews at a glance the number of drachms in any piece of Syracusan money. The obol is marked with the wheel of a chariot. One side of the money is in this way dedicated to the Olympian Zeus. But the other side bears the effigy of the local fountain-nymph Arethusa, pl. II. 6, 7. The same head occupies the obverse of the litra, a denomination peculiar to the Sicilian coinage, accompanied on the reverse by the cuttle-fish, a creature connected no doubt in myth with the Nymph herself. And these types, although the variety in their execution is infinite, are constant on Syracusan coin until a little before B.C. 400. At that time, coinciding with the sudden expansion of the power and the high development of the art of Syracuse, we find the introduction of a number of new deities and their attributes. Sicily developed new ideas as far more readily than Hellas, as did Hellas more readily than Asia, and shewed a facility which almost amounts to license in the alteration of religious myth and practice with a view to artistic effect. The Deities stamped on the Sicilian coin in the 4th century are no longer the responsible lords of the city with its possessions and traditions, but selected from among the crowd of divinities to whom the city had erected temples, in order to be honoured by and to grace with their effigy some special issue of gold, silver, or copper. But even the license of Syracuse does not venture to introduce on coin the figure of any man save of the local hero Leucaspis through all the times of Dionysius and Timoleon and Agathocles, until in the third century Hiero stamps it with his own portrait, and those of his wife Philistis and his son Gelo. Nothing could bear stronger testimony to the strength of the feeling of all Greeks in favour of religious designs on the coin than the fact that even in the innovating cities of the West the gods are only introduced somewhat at random on coins, and by no means excluded from them.

Perhaps the best proof and the best illustration of the strong religious character inherent in Greek coin-types is to be found in the history of the intro-

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1874, p. 1.

duction of portraits of persons on coins. It is well known that until the time of Alexander the Great no Greek, whatever his power or fame, had the audacity to place his effigy on coins. Even ambitious and aggressive tyrants like Dionysius of Syracuse Jason of Pherae and Philip of Macedon had not lighted on the idea of wresting from the deities this privilege. But Alexander after his conquest of Persia naturally appeared to his Greek and Macedonian subjects as unique in history, and more than a mere mortal. The strain of madness in his character which underlay his vast abilities caused him to seek to arrogate to himself a divine origin and nature, a claim readily accepted by those about him. After his death this conception of their master as a Deity took still stronger hold of the imagination of his generals. When the children and the brother of Alexander died so that none of his kin remained, his followers contrasting their own limited powers and frequent failures with his unrivalled power and unfailing success, idealized him more and more. When the great territories which Alexander had swayed began to be separated into clearly defined kingdoms, each with a Macedonian general for ruler, these latter began to feel the need of a coinage which should circulate throughout their dominions, and which they might control as the King of Persia and as Philip and Alexander had controlled the money of their dominions. At first they met the necessities of the case by issuing money exactly similar to that of Alexander, but bearing their names in the place of his. Alexander, it should be stated, had with prescient energy taken up a line quite his own in the types of his coin. Abandoning Ares and Apollo, the hereditary deities who appear on previous coins of Macedon, he had selected for his gold pieces Pallas and her servant Nike, and for his silver coin Herakles and the Zeus of Olympia. It looks as if he had wished to enlist in his army of invasion all the greatest gods of Greece who had favoured the Hellenes in those expeditions against Ilium which he regarded as the prototypes of his own expedition. Pallas had been the chief patroness of the host of Agamemnon, Zeus had awarded it the victory, Herakles had in a previous generation sacked the Trojan city. These gods then Alexander placed on his coin, which circulated through the whole extent of Europe and Asia, and these gods the marshals of Alexander inherited from him, as they inherited his military tactics and the lands he had conquered.

But before long two of the ablest of the Diadochi, Ptolemy and Lysimachus, took a new departure. The races subject to them respectively, the Egyptians with elaborate Pantheon, and the rude Thracians, knew little of Zeus and Pallas, and much of Alexander. Gods they had in plenty, but no god-like hero like the great Macedonian. So while temples were erected to Alexander, and men were speaking of his reception into Olympus, Ptolemy and Lysimachus began to place his effigy, as that of a deity, on their coin. The portrait is, like all extant

portraits of Alexander, very much idealized, but as to its intention there can be no doubt. When however the portrait of a man had once found its way on to coin we cannot wonder that the precedent was largely followed. Ptolemy, Demetrius, Seleucus claimed each of them to take the place of Alexander on the coin as in politics, and were not willing to neglect so obvious a means of bringing their features and their power before the eyes of their subjects. So we have from B. C. 300 onwards a full gallery of historical portraits on coins. It is however to be observed that it was at first as gods and not as men that the Kings appeared on money. It is well known that the Ptolemies, the Seleucidae, and other royal races had temples and wealthy priesthoods, and claimed even in their lifetime a divine character. Hence it comes that frequently Kings appear on coins with the attributes of gods. Antiochus II. and III. bear the wing of Hermes, Antiochus IV. appears as one of the Dioscuri, one of the Kings of Egypt appears as Poseidon, one as Dionysus, Demetrius Poliorcetes bears the horn of Dionysus, Ptolemy I. the aegis of Zeus. Not until the middle of the third century, if as early, do Kings as such feel it one of the privileges of their rank to place their portraits on the money of their peoples. And even then, though men usurp one side of the coin, the other still retains a religious type, usually the full-length figure of a divinity, as a reminiscence of the original character and dedication of coin.

CHAPTER II.

Monetary Symbols or Adjuncts.

In addition to the type or main device of a Greek coin and its inscription, there is frequently a third detail to claim our attention. All who have given any attention to coins must have noticed in many cases, to right or left, above or below, the main design, a smaller design, either partly or wholly distinct from it. This is called in the language of numismatics the symbol or adjunct, and I propose in the present chapter to discuss its nature and origin.

The discrimination between type and symbol may at first be supposed to be easy. The type represents the main purpose of a coin, the symbol only a minor intention. The type belongs to the city, the symbol to a magistrate. Nevertheless there are, as we shall find, many instances in which it is by no means easy to decide what is type and what symbol.

The origin of the symbol may be easily explained. Archaeologists are generally agreed that it is a copy or replica of the signet of the magistrate who is responsible for the coin. He adds his signet to the type of the money to mark it as his, on the same principle on which the inscription marks it as belonging to the city that issued it, and the type appropriated it to the Deity who was master of the city.

It is generally known that in ancient times, instead of appending their signatures to documents and agreements, or in addition to such signature, responsible persons sealed them with their private signets. And just as the head of a Greek family would place his seal on a closet, the contents of which he wished to keep private, or on a will or contract, so he would place a copy of it on every coin for the weight and fineness of which he was personally responsible.

On what principle was the device of the signet selected? Was it personal to the user, or did it belong to his family and ancestors? Was the choice of it closely restricted, or was it in the main arbitrary? All these are questions which belong to the heraldry of the ancients, and are by no means easy to answer. It seems to us very natural that a signet-ring should be handed down from father to son as a family badge. But I do not know that any instance

of such transmission can be quoted. On the other hand, in many cases, the device of the signet seems personal to the owner. Thus it would appear that Alexander the Great's signet bore a portrait of himself by Pyrgoteles. The device on the ring of Seleucus I. was an anchor, which contained an allusion to the story about his birth, and which frequently appears on his coins. But his descendant Antiochus IV., in marking with his special device the coins issued at Athens under his patronage, introduces an elephant, which is also a frequent type on the Asiatic money of his father. Mithradates VI. inserts as his private mark, as well on the Athenian coins as on those of his own dominion, a sun and moon, symbols of the Deity Mithras, who was his patron divinity. And this latter instance would seem to be quite in accordance with Greek custom. The device of the signet of a Greek head of a family very often contained an allusion to the deity after whom he was named. Thus, on coins of Abdera, the symbol of Python is a Pythian tripod; on coins of Neapolis the symbol of the artist or magistrate Artemi-(dorus?) is a figure of Artemis. Sometimes the allusion to the name of the owner on the signet is of more playful character. Thus at Abdera the signet of Nicostratus is a charging warrior, that of Molpagores a dancing girl, that of Euagon a prize-amphora. However, in the vast majority of cases, we are unable to trace the origin of a signet, or judge of its appropriateness; we can only take it as it stands.

The symbols of monetary magistrates began to make their appearance as soon as coinage took firm root and became general. But as might have been expected the custom took earlier and deeper root in some cities than others, the officers entrusted with the issue of coin being in some cities of greater weight and account than at others. By the fourth century it had become almost universal. But during that century either in the place of, or more frequently in addition to the symbol, we have at many cities the name of the monetary magistrate; sometimes the name of more than one magistrate. During this and the two following centuries there is at almost all great minting cities a regular succession and series of monetarii, distinguished by name and signet.

I have stated that the distinction between type and symbol on coins is not always so easy as might be supposed. Take for instance the great Thracian city of Abdera. From the time of the Persian wars to B.C. 400, the coins of Abdera bear regularly on one side the type of the city, the griffin of Apollo, with or without the name of Abdera, and on the other a varying type, see pl. III. 29—31, together with the name of a magistrate. That this reverse type belongs to the magistrate whose name it accompanies and with whose name it changes cannot be doubted; and in fact between the name and the type there is a close connexion as I have already pointed out on this page. The type is then here really a symbol, and represents an officer's signet. Why the magistrates occupy

so prominent a place on the Abderite money we know not; they may have exercised unusual power or been of very high rank. At the Thracian Maronea they hold a position of equal honour. A still more remarkable case of prominence given to a magistrate's symbol is to be found in the staters of Cyzicus, which were composed of electrum, and were largely current in Western Asia during the fifth century B.C. These interesting coins preserve on their reverse the rude incuse-square of early times, so that but one side is left for the type to occupy. Yet on this one available side the city only places a tunny-fish as mint-mark, and leaves all the rest of the field to the magistrate, who there inserts his own private device, pl. IV. 19, 20; X. 1—5. Even the name of the city is omitted. It was probably understood generally that all electrum coins where the fish appeared were of the celebrated Cyzicene issue; and the only thing which could be doubted in reference to any was the year of its mintage, a question at once set at rest by the type, or, as we should rather call it, the usurping and magnified symbol.

In these cases then what seems at first sight to be a type is really a symbol: in other cases, on the other hand, what looks like a symbol is really a type. This is specially true of uniform and federal coinages. In the cases for instance of the uniform coins (types Head of Pallas and Pegasus) issued by the colonies of Corinth, and of the regal coins of Alexander the Great struck in various Greek cities, we frequently find the type of the mint-city introduced as a mere adjunct in the field. Thus the Rhodian rose and the crab of Cos, the lion and star of Miletus, and many other civic types appear in the Alexandrine series. So too the coins of the Achaean league are uniform, but for a name or a device which belongs to the city of issue.

At some Greek cities we find type and symbol blended into one design with a beautiful effect. At Metapontum this is notably the case. The symbol, very commonly a fly, locust or mouse or some such creature, is usually walking on the leaf belonging to the type, an ear of corn, pl. V. 27. So too at Cyzicus the tunny is continually blended into the type, and on coins of Macedon the rose, when a symbol, grows from the ground and birds fly in the air. So well did the Greeks understand how to add beauty to what was already convenient, and unity to objects made with a distinct purpose.

CHAPTER III.

Coin-types and Archaeology.

In the present chapter we will consider what are the differences between coins and other works of Greek artistic activity, what are the advantages and disadvantages which they offer us from the point of view of archaeology. And we will begin with the disadvantages which are few and obvious, before we dwell on the advantages which are at once of greater extent and less obvious to the uninitiated.

Compared with works of Greek sculpture and painting, coins labour under two serious drawbacks. The first is the smallness of their size. The Greeks with their fine taste and keen sense of form, well knew that it is unsuitable to introduce into the small surface of a coin-die a composition containing more than one or two figures, or of any complicacy of arrangement. Two figures contending, a chariot, a sacrifice, such are the most complicated subjects which are becoming on so small an area, and in fact usually the subjects selected are still more simple, a standing Deity, a head, an animal, even a star or a flower. In this way the range of subjects which could be represented upon coins is very narrow, only the simplest kind of grouping is used, and there is a marked absence of some of the conventions which play so important a part in most works of Greek art. And not only is the choice of numismatic art narrowed, but that art has to content itself with very small dimensions. A little slip of the engraver's hand will spoil the whole contour of a figure or the expression of a face. In fact it is only by slow degrees and long practice that the eye of a student attains the power of seeing the intention of the artist through his work, and judging the latter rather by its general character and feeling than by the strict letter of accomplishment. Only by degrees do accidents of striking and little pieces of carelessness in a coin cease to spoil the pleasure with which we contemplate the design. And the eye of the student must adapt itself to the small scale; it is not possible to enlarge the coins by any process so as to adapt them to the eye.

The engraver had the actual dimensions of the coin before him when he was at work; he intended his figures to be of that size and no greater; hence

all photographic and mechanical enlargements are unsuccessful, they exaggerate defects and make carelessness which is in reality venial rise to the magnitude of a great blemish.

But the smallness of coin-designs is not their only defect. It must be borne in mind that the primary object in all issues of coins was commercial, and that they were not primarily intended as works of art. The intention was not that they should attract admiration, but that they should pass current on the market; and their beauty is less the result of design than of the instinctive love of beauty and hatred of ugliness which formed part of the Greek nature. A curious confirmation of this statement may be found in the fact that there are no coins of Athens, and scarcely any of Argos and Sicyon, with any pretensions to beauty, while we have series of superlative excellence from many towns, Terina for instance, and Clazomenae, of which the reader of Greek history hears little. Among the Greeks, coins were seldom produced by artists of repute; indeed they were usually the work of mere art-mechanics; and they were continually struck with a haste and carelessness which would have been fatal to the fineness of even the most beautiful designs.

Thus it cannot be denied that if we had still remaining all that Greece produced of beautiful and attractive, if we could wander like Pausanias among Hellenic agoras and temples, the interest of coins to us would be almost entirely commercial, we should not look to them for information as to art and archaeology. But now the case is quite otherwise. Instead of a full treasury of works of Greek art we have but a comparatively small and fractured remnant. Not one-hundredth part of the results of Greek artistic activity has come down to us, and even of that remnant the condition is sometimes such that we can scarcely look on it with any satisfaction. But of coins on the other hand we know far more than could any Roman or Greek. We have specimens of all or nearly all the great series issued throughout the autonomous age, and probably we possess a really large proportion of all important varieties. And among our specimens, thousands are as fresh and uninjured as when they came from the die. It may therefore be readily imagined how the relative value of Greek coins compared with works of sculpture and painting has increased.

The special and peculiar advantages offered by coins to students of Greek art are neither few nor small.

The first of these, an advantage which will be appreciated in a very high degree by all genuine students, is that coins are originals and not copies. This can be said of a very small proportion of the works of Greek sculpture which have come down to us. Of the innumerable statues in Italian galleries very few bear the marks of having been executed by the same artist who invented the design. Many are Roman copies made merely to sell, many are Greek repro-

ductions of a low age and an inferior hand. A very large proportion have been so restored and tinkered by modern hands as to have lost their original merit altogether. And even the sculptures of known time and origin, such as those of Olympia and Bassae, shew by evident marks that the hands which actually produced them were those not of the masters who made the design, but of mere hired workmen, who in giving form to the idea, robbed it of much of its beauty. But Greek coins are originals, entirely unrestored, and preserving to our day all the beauty they ever possessed.

In coins also we escape those terrible, almost insoluble questions of genuineness and of real or affected archaism which may well drive to despair the student of other branches of Greek art. In the case of certain classes of gems, especially cameos, it is almost or quite impossible to discriminate ancient from modern work; with regard to whole classes of vases the date is a matter of unending discussion and complete uncertainty, for archaic work was continued in their production from generation to generation; but with regard to coins neither authenticity nor, within certain limits, date can be seriously disputed. Every step in their study, instead of being made on a shifting quicksand, is made on solid rock, and nothing soberly learned need be again unlearned. And in fact the very question of true and affected archaism in regard to vases, gems, and so forth, would be more obscure than it is but for the testimony of coins. For as the dates of coins can be fixed by other considerations than those of style, we can by studying them most accurately discover at what period the affectation of archaism began, and in what countries it was especially rife. This matter has not been fully worked out, but in the course of our work we shall find a great deal of material for its elucidation.

Another great advantage attaching to coins is their serious and official character. The choice of a type was not left to individual caprice, but was fixed by tradition. And even in the special treatment of the type, the die-cutter seems not usually to have been altogether at liberty, but had to work within certain limits. It was felt that the state was responsible for the character of its monetary issues, and that such figures and symbols only must appear on the coins as consorted with the dignity of the commonwealth and such as would please its religious patrons. This sober and responsible character is evidenced in many facts with regard to coins. Thus false spellings in their inscriptions are, at least in earlier times, most unusual, indeed almost unknown, whereas in lapidary inscriptions they are very frequent. Again we have scarcely any trace on coins of the indecency which is a characteristic of so many classes of antiquities. In the whole series of Greek coins, I doubt if there be a dozen impure types, and even these must rather be considered as eccentricities of Greek religious legend than as due to any wrongful intention. The results of the law I have

mentioned are far-reaching. We have an extraordinary richness of types depicting Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and other great deities who were the protectors of cities, and an immense number of representations of recognized religious symbols such as the tripod, the eagle, and the owl. But as a set-off against this we miss on coins illustrations of certain mythologic fields, we do not find representations of those classes of beings who were not closely connected with the official religion of cities. And this is specially the case with those semi-human creatures which so largely figure on the pediments and friezes of temples. The forms of the earth-born Giants seldom or never occur on autonomous Greek coins, those of Centaurs and of Amazons scarcely at all except at a late period. This of course leaves a great gap in the circle of numismatic archaeology, but it is a gap which can be abundantly filled from other sources. And *a fortiori* we must not expect on coins any scene from daily life, save only a few connected with agonistic festivals; nor must we look for any subjects taken from the Mysteries, nor from the cultus of the strange and foreign deities who gradually obtained a footing in most Greek cities, and whose votaries might perhaps be termed the non-conformists of antiquity, nor have we as a rule illustrations of heroic and Homeric tales and events. But on the other hand certain important forms of Greek religion such as the worship of rivers receive the greater part of their illustration from coins; and without numismatic monuments we should know very little of a number of respectable local cults such as that of Europa in Crete, that of Adranus in Sicily, and so forth.

But beyond question the chief advantage possessed by coins from the point of view of teachers and students of archaeology is their capacity of being formed in series in relation both to time and to space.

I have elsewhere ventured to assert that "it is the main object in any "exact and reasoned study of archaeology, to determine the place which gave "birth to each of the works of art which successively come up for judgment, as "well as the time at which that birth took place." With regard to any given coin these two questions can be answered with considerable accuracy and usually with certainty; as this is the basis on which the whole of these chapters are built, I must spend a short time in explaining and enforcing it.

The general scheme or plan which I have drawn up, and the plates for illustration, are alike based on the supposition that the dates and localities of coins can be fixed with accuracy. And the divisions alike in time and space are not arbitrary. Of all the coins on our plates there are scarcely a dozen in the case of which the local assignment which is here given could be seriously disputed. And as to the temporal assignment, although in the early periods this is sometimes matter of opinion, yet the widest divergence of opinion of properly trained numismatists in regard to any coin of clearly marked style could scarcely

amount to fifty years. When we compare this unanimity of opinion with the extraordinary divergence of opinion frequently expressed in regard to works of sculpture, the Aphrodite of Melos for instance, or vases or cut stones, we may well feel surprise. I must briefly set forth the reasons why coins possess this great advantage.

In regard to the determination of place, not only do coins usually bear the well-known arms or type of the city which issued them, but also after a very early period the name of that city in addition. Thus even if we do not know where a coin was found we can tell where it was minted, by the aid of type and legend. But with regard to other antiquities the find-spot is usually the most important, very often the only clue to their local assignment; and as it is usually to the interest of the finder to conceal this, in order that his possession may not be disputed, the evidence of locality is continually wanting. And yet Greek art can never be studied in any completeness unless the existence of local schools is recognized and their peculiarities fully elucidated. In this particular then the value of the testimony of coins is such as can scarcely be overrated.

And again the determination of the periods of coins, although it cannot of course be made with the same accuracy and certainty as the local assignment, is yet possible within narrow limits and beyond reasonable question. We are not in this case, as in that of most Greek remains, dependent upon the evidence of style, which after all reduces one to arguing in a circle. First of all we have historical indications; then those of standard in weight, then those of fabric, then those of epigraphy. Let us take a few instances.

Readers of Pindar will remember that the Syracusan Hiero on his victory at Olympia was proclaimed by the herald an Aetnaean. And they may perhaps remember the explanation of the circumstance. Catana as one of the great Chalcidian cities of Sicily was often on bad terms with her Dorian neighbour Syracuse. About B.C. 476 Hiero, king of Syracuse, completely depopulated the city, removing the inhabitants to Leontini, and refilling the walls with a body of new colonists from Syracuse and Peloponnesus. The name of the city he changed to Aetna, and it is of this Aetna that he was at Olympia proclaimed a citizen. But in B.C. 461 the old inhabitants of Catana returned, and Hiero's colonists were obliged to retire to Inessa. Now the effect of Hiero's colony can be clearly traced in the coins of Catana[1], which without changing their type suddenly appear early in the fifth century with the name of Aetna instead of that of Catana. After a short interval the name of Catana is resumed. We thus have a series of coins belonging to Sicily which we are

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1876, p. 9.

able on sound historical evidence to attribute to a period of fifteen years, B. C. 476—461.

A few years ago there came to light small gold coins bearing the letters ΠΙΣΑ, and in type and fabric very similar to those of Elis. Their attribution was at first doubtful, for Pisa in the Eleian territory was destroyed about B. C. 570 in the early days of Greece, but our coins are of no archaic style, and could not be given to an earlier time than the fourth century. But Prof. Curtius[1] was able to suggest that there was one period when the Pisatae could have revived their pretension to issue coin, that namely, when in conjunction with the Arcadians who had been formed into a league by Epaminondas they renewed their pretensions to the presidence of the Olympian festival. For a time they succeeded in ousting the Eleans from that honourable prerogative, and in occupying Olympia itself, expelling their former masters. We are even told that the Pisatae dared to seize some of the temple treasures, and convert them into coin for the hire of mercenaries. This brought about their downfall, and the people of Pisa soon disappear into the obscurity whence they emerged. We can scarcely be wrong in following Curtius in ascribing to this precise period the gold coins above mentioned which bear the name of Pisa, and which thus are interesting historical memorials, as well as a source of valuable evidence on the subject of the progressive development of the type of the Zeus of Olympia, the head of that deity which marks them being of striking and peculiar style.

Having taken one instance from the coinage of Sicily, and another from that of Greece proper, let us take a third from that of Asia Minor. Coins of an early period reach us from Ionia which have on the one side the name Themistocles, ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ, and on the other the letters ΜΑ. The true attribution of these was pointed out by M. Waddington in a valuable paper in the *Revue numismatique*[2]. He pointed out the fact that when Themistocles fled to Persia after his ostracism in B. C. 471, the Persian king, receiving him with favour, allotted to him the city of Magnesia, together with Lampsacus and Myus, and he lived there until his death. The coin then of which I am speaking was issued by the people of Magnesia while under the rule of the great Athenian. In this case also, therefore, we have narrow limits of time wherein to date our coin.

I have selected three typical instances; but unfortunately none of these are illustrated by our plates. I might with ease double or treble the number. As a matter of fact nearly all the alliance coins, of which I spoke above, can

[1] *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* II. p. 274.

[2] Vol. I. Nouv. Série, p. 47; *Mélanges de Numismatique*, p. 1.

be dated. And besides, in the case of every district, if not of every city, there are fixed divisions and limits set by history in the coinage, which make the task of classification by date possible. Such events as the destruction of Sybaris about B. C. 510, the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily of B. C. 412, the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy and Sicily, the destruction of the cities of Chalcidice by Philip of Macedon, that of Thebes by Alexander, and of course above all, the invasion of Asia by the Macedonian monarch, leave broad and deep traces on the monetary issues of the regions affected by them; and must form the basis of any satisfactory numismatic classifications. Hence it is that a minute knowledge of history is at once demanded for and produced by the study of Greek coins. The numismatist must constantly handle not only Thucydides and Xenophon, but Arrian and Justin and Athenaeus, and even such late writers as Photius and Georgius Syncellus.

The history of the standards of weight on which Greek coins were struck did not until quite recently become a subject of serious study. There were even found people in the last generation who held that the Greek coins we possess were not coins at all, but medals issued for various purposes. Nothing has done more of late years to give a scientific form to Greek numismatics than the great attention given to weight-standards. The fact has been recognized that a coin is after all but a stamped piece of precious metal, and that its value was derived when it was issued not from the stamp but from the metal. Distinguished scholars like Hultsch and Brandis have in consequence spent years of their lives in weighing coin after coin, recording the results and trying thence to reach principles. The greatest of living archaeologists, Professor Mommsen, has given much time to the study of the weights and developments of Greek and Roman coins, and his strength has opened a way through jungles which were before impenetrable obstacles to science.

It is evident that with a view to the history of ancient commerce and economics nothing can be more important than the study of monetary standards. This is a great field, as yet but little worked, but destined to yield much fruit in the future. Such investigations must always be the root and groundwork of the science of numismatics. Yet to the art student I cannot recommend it. The subject is of such extreme complexity that no progress can be made in it save by the exclusive devotion of years. There are cities which continually altered their standard, for reasons no doubt which were good enough, but which we have not as yet the means of tracing. Nor can the pursuit be followed up without constant access to great collections. And a little knowledge in this matter is of scarcely any use. It would therefore be well for ordinary students of archaeology to avoid the mesh of Greek metrology, and confine themselves to other aspects of coins, regarding them rather as works of art than as currency.

Only they must be prepared to accept the results reached by specialists through following the laborious path of metrological investigation.

The complete investigation of the method and peculiarities of the *fabrication* of Greek coins would belong to what is called technology, that is, the history of mechanical art in antiquity, and of successive practical inventions. But a knowledge of fabric which may be acquired by practice and the eye will be of great service to a numismatist in the classification of coins, for not only does fabric change with lapse of time, but it is various in all the various parts of the Greek world. As instances of local varieties of fabric I may mention that coins of Sicily of the good period, being cast in batches before they were struck, usually have on two opposite sides remains of the metal bars which originally held them in rows (see pl. VI. 10, 29, 31). Gold and silver coins of early Seleucid times, such as double-Darics, when they come from the far East are thick and lumpy, with hammered edges. Coins of Macedon and Thrace frequently present a reticulated surface, from being struck while very hot. Many facts of this sort might be instanced. And as an instance of temporal variety of fabric can be adduced the fact, of late satisfactorily established, that broad and flat silver coins from the mints of Asia, such as figure on our plates XIII., XIV., did not make their appearance until at least as late as the reign of Antiochus the Great. In fact each district has at each period a special fabric, a peculiar style, which the expert eye will easily recognize. And to learn to recognize it is the best possible training. Those who have learned to detect varieties of outward fabric will learn the more easily to understand and discern differences in art and in treatment, and their eyes will undergo that gradual education which is necessary to every student of Greek art. For we may here repeat, what cannot be too often repeated, that in order to gain an adequate knowledge of Greek art, the eye requires at least as much training as the mind. Mere reading of books and the absorption of pleasing theories will take a student a very little way forward; it is not theories but stubborn material, stone and bronze and terra-cotta, which he has to assimilate and make his own. Mere cleverness and quickness will be of little avail; what is wanted is patience and an earnest determination to reach the truth through the outward embodiment, and to see every work of ancient art in the same light in which it was regarded by its own author.

The attribution of coins in time and place is made also much easier through the legends they bear. The science of epigraphy, which was in its infancy in the days of Boeckh, has progressed of late years with very great rapidity. Kirchhoff and other scholars have already carried to comparative perfection the art of determining by means of the forms of the letters in which they are written, the dates of Greek inscriptions, and every new dated inscription which is discovered increases the accuracy of our power of assignment. From epigraphy, then,

we may in many cases gather indications for the assignment of our coins. And it must be noted that whereas most inscriptions occur separate from works of art, in the case of coins the inscription is in every case in close juxtaposition to a type, and the eye passes easily and rapidly from one to the other until it becomes in the habit of associating particular forms of letters with particular characteristics of style, which to a learner of archaeology is a very valuable habit.

I must however add a warning. As the proficients in the study of art are too ready to fix the dates of coins by slight peculiarities in their style, which may not have any real importance, so epigraphists sometimes err in thinking that they can class coins by the forms of letters on them only. But epigraphy, though a useful aid to the numismatist, must not be treated by him as a guide. There was always a period, after the introduction of certain forms of letters at a city, during which new and old forms were used somewhat promiscuously: and thus the coin of which the inscription is written in older characters may sometimes be later in style, and probably later in issue. It seems to be established by long induction that of the two, epigraphy and style, style is the safer guide. And though it may seem strange it is yet true that, whereas in the early period of Greek numismatics we have hardly any clear instances of affected archaism in style, we certainly have such instances in the case of inscription or legend. For instance, the inscriptions on the coins of Pandosia, pl. I. 23, 29, and on the coin of Croton, pl. V. 2, 7, are most distinctly instances of affected archaism. Again, it is well known that early forms of letters lingered much longer in some districts than others, so that there is no ground for supposing that coins of neighbouring districts, or even of neighbouring cities, must be contemporary because the letters on them are of the same form. In the case of districts, of which we have abundant early inscriptions, such as Boeotia and Attica, this is at once seen to be true; but it must hold true also of regions which have not left us early lapidary records.

The sum of what precedes may be briefly summed up, before we go further. In assigning the date of coins we must consider, in addition to their artistic style, several other matters. In the first place we must carefully weigh all historical testimony; not of course regarding ancient writers as infallible, but also guarding against a cynical tendency to despise them. Next, we must carefully observe and put together the metrological data, trying to find a clue to lead us through their labyrinthine complexity. Thirdly, we must take account of fabric, and fourthly, we must gain such light as we are able from the science of epigraphy.

In addition there are indications helping us to ascertain the dates of coins of a more fortuitous kind, but not therefore to be despised by the numismatist. Hoards are frequently discovered in the ground, consisting of a quantity of coins

of various cities. Possibly some circumstance may fix the date when the hoard was buried; at all events it is sure to contain some pieces whereof the date is known. Hence we may ascertain within certain limits the dates of the rest. The class which is smallest in numbers and shews most traces of wear in use is usually the earliest in date; coins fresh from the mint and plenteous in number were probably lately issued when the hoard was buried. By aid of finds of coins some of the hardest problems in numismatics, such as the succession of the various types of Roman Consular coins, have been approximatively settled. Hence the importance of preserving an exact record of the constituent parts of finds, as well as of the circumstances of finding them. Another indication of great practical value to the numismatist is offered by instances of the custom which prevailed at many ancient mints, of using as blanks for their coins the money of other cities, that is, merely heating it and impressing it with new types. In such cases we can often discern the old types under the new. A list of some usual restrikings is given by Dr Friedländer in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*[1]. Earlier coins of Crete, such as pl. IX. 19, are restruck on coins of Cyrene, like pl. IX. 28, which proves that these two classes of coins circulated simultaneously. Later coins of Crete are struck on the money of the kings of Syria. And many other instances might be cited.

To weave skilfully the many-fold cord of evidence, and rightly to estimate the indications borrowed from each source, is the training which is offered by numismatics to the student. And it may readily be understood that although other branches of archaeology offer a wider field to imagination, more scope to the artistic sense, more play for the faculty which produces theories, none offer so solid and safe a road for the beginner to tread. This is a road in which every step is a clear gain, and it passes the skirts of many a fair province of archaeology which lies open to those who travel on the highway if they need variety or more ambitious excursions.

Such is the study of numismatics. But in the present work it is impossible to regularly pursue the slow and inductive course which has been indicated. If we wished to pursue methodically the entire course of investigation, a very few coins would more than occupy our space. And writing for students of general archaeology I wish to shorten as far as possible the preliminary studies and lead on quickly to results which will be of use as an introduction to various branches of Greek archaeology. Instead therefore of bringing forward a few coins to be investigated *ab initio*, we append exact photographic reproductions of several hundreds, already classed according to date and place. And in speaking of each of these I shall be able only to call attention to one or two of the most

[1] Vol. IV. p. 328.

important peculiarities which it presents in a mythological and artistic point of view. But I shall hope in thus calling attention to works of numismatic art, one by one, to be able by degrees to train the eyes as well as the minds of readers, and in that way alike prepare them for a more detailed study of numismatics, and furnish them at the same time with a compendious grammar of Greek archaeology, which will be useful in correcting false and imparting true views on the subject of the history of ancient art.

Before speaking in detail of the plates, it will be well to point out a few general principles, which we must carefully carry with us if we would profit from the study of Greek coins. Unless we know beforehand what to look for and expect, we may miss what is valuable, and fill ourselves with vain imaginings.

It is an indication of the good sense of the Greeks in commercial matters that many cities made it a practice to indicate, by a slight modification of the types, the denomination of a coin. At Athens all the divisions of the drachm are marked by a varying treatment of the invariable types, the head of Pallas and the owl. On the tetrobol there are two owls; on the diobol the owl has but one head, but two bodies; on the triobol the owl is facing the spectator, and so forth. By such differences it was made easy for the Athenian buyers and sellers to discern the value of the small pieces of silver which passed through their hands. So in some of the Sicilian cities the four-horse chariot appears only on tetradrachms, didrachms bear a rider who leads a second horse, drachms a simple horseman. Thus it is easy at a glance to see what denomination we have to do with. So again in Thessaly a horseman marks the diobol, a single horse the obol. At Corinth the diobol bears a Pegasus on both obverse and reverse, the trihemiobol a Pegasus on the obverse and a Medusa-head on the reverse. At a number of cities on the coins of which an animal is used for the type of the drachm, the forepart of that animal is impressed on the hemi-drachm. Thus the Greeks understood how, without spoiling the significance of their monetary types, to secure commercial convenience by slight modifications of them.

A consideration which must never be absent from the minds of those who study Greek coins, as it was certainly never absent from the minds of the artists who engraved them, is the limitations and necessities imposed by the shape of the fields of coins. The adaptation of design to space was precisely a thing in which the national character of the Greeks, their sense of measure and the fitness of things, and their great mastery of design enabled them to excel, and there is perhaps no particular in which Greek sculpture is more admirable. That this is so has long been acknowledged in the case of pedimental, metopal and other sculptures on temples; and it holds no less of gems and coins. The field of coins is usually in early times either circular or square; in later times almost always

circular. In order to fill this space fully many expedients were resorted to. In some early coins, as usually in early vases, detached ornaments, rosettes, stars, or patterns, fill up vacant spaces. Of this custom instances will be found in pl. III. 3, 8. More often designs are by preference adopted which of themselves occupy the field, especially designs of which the parts balance one another. Hence the preference on early coins for running and kneeling figures, pl. I. 3, 6; III. 7, 8, 18; IV. 19, 20; and for winged figures, the two wings of which, stretched backwards and forwards in archaic fashion, admirably fill side-spaces, pl. I. 6; II. 3; IV. 14. On the same principle animals kneel, pl. III. 12, 13; IV. 13, 18; or turn back their heads over their backs, pl. I. 10, 11, 34, 35, &c. Probably the human head may owe its first introduction on coins to the appropriateness of its shape to filling a round space, for the heads of gods and men are seldom figured by themselves in arts of earlier times than the Greek.

In later times expedients of a less simple kind are used for the production of completeness and rotundity in a design. The variety of these is infinite, in fact it is impossible to look through any one of our plates without discerning some of them. Standing figures stride with outstretched arm, pl. I. 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, &c., or, if at rest, hold in their hands attributes which occupy the field, pl. I. 5, 16, 17; II. 2, 15, 16, &c.; and the space under their seats is filled by a foot drawn back, or a hanging end of drapery, I. 18, 20; seated figures hold out in front of them some object, I. 19—22, &c. In cases where the introduction of attributes would be awkward, other means are adopted. Thus the Nike, I. 23, is placed in the middle of a wreath, which fills the field on either side of her, the same deity in III. 42 fronts the spectator, so that her wings may spread over the field. Even the Nike who crowns the Sicilian chariots on pls. II., VI. might perhaps not have appeared but for the working of the desire to fill spaces; for, on pl. VI. 28, where Nike drives the chariot herself and so cannot also float in the air, the space occupied by her on other coins is filled by a branch of vine. Other remarkable instances of adaptation of design to space are, pl. II. 39; III. 6, 46, 48; IV. 26, 28, 29, &c.; but it is hard to choose specimens which excel in a quality which strongly marks all alike.

I should perhaps guard myself from a misconception. It is very easy to carry this very valid observation too far, and to suppose that our explanation explains too much. The desire to fill a field would seldom indeed dictate the choice of a type, at all events consciously. It would act not as a motive but merely as a regulative force, and even so act perhaps unconsciously, act by making certain treatments of the given subject seem to the mind of the artist more satisfactory than others; so that, other things being equal, he would give them the preference. Perhaps in certain cases the tendency would go even further than this, as in the Cyzicene staters, on which we find a kneeling Demeter, a

kneeling Helios, pl. x. 3, and even a kneeling Zeus, a type which one must almost see to believe in it. We do not often find cases so extreme. Still, it is well to bear in mind that we must always regard the design on a Greek coin as made not to be good *simpliciter*, but to be good *secundum quid*. Given the limit of space and the material, the artist will probably do his best; but with more space and a less stubborn material he might have done better. And it is the more important to bear this proposition in mind because of the extreme importance of one of its corollaries, which is this, that it is not fair to expect to find upon coins reproductions of the works of sculpture or painting of contemporary artists. I speak of course of the good time of art. In Roman times, i.e. the first century B.C. and later, we do find on coins of Greek cities intentional copies of celebrated statues in those cities. And even in the days of the later Greek kings we do occasionally meet with instances of such purposeful reproductions. Thus coins of the reign of Hadrian give us representations, careful though on a small scale, of the Zeus of Olympia, pl. xv. 18, 19, and the Hera of Argos. In the same period we may discover on coins copies of the Artemis of Ephesus, pl. xv. 4, the Aphrodite of Cnidus, pl. xv. 21, and many other celebrated statues. But this is a thing which we must not look for in earlier and better days. The engravers of coin-dies must of necessity have had continually in their minds while they were at work the great masterpieces of sculpture which adorned their city. It would seem to us moderns the most natural thing in the world, in engraving the figure or the head of the deity to whom the city was consecrated, to closely imitate the statue of that deity which stood in the great city temple. Yet practically we find that exact and servile imitation of things however beautiful, did not suggest itself to the mind of the artists who executed coin-dies. They work on the same lines, so to say, as the great sculptors, yet with infinite difference in detail. They felt that treatment which might suit a colossal statue would not suit the minute field of a coin. And besides, infinite variety within definite limits is the essential character of the representations of Greek art. As the riders in the Parthenon frieze are all alike in general treatment, while yet no two are alike in all details; and as on vases we find the same subject portrayed in groups, which are ever alike and yet varying; so the representations of the same deity in statue, relief, gem and coin present us invariably with some new feature. Thus it is that coins of Olympia of the age of Pheidias present us with a head of Zeus full of largeness and grandeur, pl. viii. 6, but not with any exact copy of the head of the colossus of Pheidias; the early coins of Argos exhibit a noble type of head of Hera, pl. viii. 14, but we cannot be sure that it reproduces in detail the head of the great statue of Polycleitus; the coins of Pheneus of the time of Praxiteles offer us a Hermes carrying the child Arcas, pl. viii. 31, but the attitude is

different from that of the celebrated statue from Olympia of Hermes holding young Dionysus.

In fact, as long as Greek art was alive, an exact or slavish copy of statue or relief was all but unknown. The artist, however humble, took with his model, whether a human being or another work of art, such liberty as he chose, following his own artistic sense and judgment. And this is a matter which cannot be too fully grasped or strongly realized by the student. The crop of errors which spring from its overlooking has been and is enormous.

Again, we shall never progress in the study of Greek coins, unless we bear in mind the extremely symbolical character of Hellenic art. The term *symbolism* may not sound well, and may too vividly remind us of somewhat visionary theories and far-fetched interpretations which were current among the followers of the learned Creuzer. But that school erred, not because they attributed a symbolical character to ancient representations, but because they supposed the symbolism of the ancients to be intentional, and far more profound than it was in reality. Their fault was indeed the almost universal error of carrying modern modes of thought into antiquity. But the symbolism of the Greeks, though it lay at the basis of all their art, was quite unlike the dreamy and reflective symbolism of modern days. It was very simple and mainly unconscious. They did not invent symbols to express a deep meaning, but used symbols handed down to them from their ancestors, often because they had an almost consecrated character, and because to express the same ideas in a more fresh and complete manner would require more originality and brightness of invention than existed or was available. This we shall see more clearly if we instance from coins a few classes of common symbolical representations. I should perhaps warn those used to the terminology of coins that in thus using the word symbol and symbolical I do not of course refer to those adjuncts to the type of a coin called in technical numismatic language *symbols*, but use the words I have mentioned in an unrestricted and general sense.

In this wide sense the term will include the representation in human shape of mountains, rivers and lakes which commonly appear on coins in human or semi-human shape; as well as Victory, Good Faith, and other events and feelings. But at present I refer less to this translation of ideas into persons than to a sort of artistic shorthand which is usual on coins, though of course not peculiar to them.

If a horse stands, as in Thessaly, on a line out of which grows a rose, this means that he is feeding on a flowery plain; if at Tarentum a shell-fish is placed below the figure of Taras, pl. I. 22, this means that he is passing through the sea. A Term on coins signifies a rural scene, terminal figures being a marked feature of the Greek landscape, pl. VI. 4. If on the coin of Selinus, which bears

as type the sacrifice to Apollo, in gratitude for the removal of a pestilence, we have in the background a crane walking away, pl. II. 16, this signifies the drying up of the marshes in which he may be supposed to have rejoiced. When we find on Arcadian coins a figure of Pan seated on rocks, pl. VIII. 32, we readily interpret the group as meaning that the temple of the Arcadian Pan was situate on the lofty rocks of mount Lycaeus. If on the money of Corinth we find Aphrodite and the temple which contains her image placed on a basis, pl. XV. 25, we do not hesitate to see in that basis the lofty rock of Acrocorinthus, on the summit of which her temple in fact rested. In a hundred cases where a modern would copy an object, the ancient artist merely implies it, either by figuring a small part to stand for the whole, or by putting instead a recognized symbol which stood in its place.

Thus the tripod, pl. XVI. 1, represents as well as the head of Apollo, or even as his whole image, the presence and power of that deity. Victory is as clearly indicated by the figure of an eagle holding a serpent in his claws, pl. III. 52, as by a figure of the winged Nike. A victory in the chariot-race is more easily portrayed by introducing on a coin an eagle standing on the Ionic pillar, which was the turning-post in the Hippodrome, or carrying a branch of olive, as in pl. V. 25, than by figuring the victorious chariot itself, with Victory hovering in the air above it. Two caps surmounted by stars signify to perfection the Dioscuri to whom they belonged. An ox-head bound with a fillet stands for a sacrifice, so does the double-axe, with which victims were struck down. But there is surely no need to produce more instances of a law of Greek art so well known; rather should I apologize for having so long dwelt upon it. The excuse must be its importance; for, unless it is ever in the mind of the student of Greek art, he will make small progress.

Another thing to be remembered in studying coins is that they must be looked at with a certain breadth and generality, and with comparative elimination of detail. Of course, in the smallest detail the engraver may have a meaning; and in fact fresh meaning is being constantly discovered in variations which had hitherto escaped observation. But there are other variations which spring rather from the exceeding freedom and exuberance of Greek art, even from the haste and carelessness of the engraver, which must not be pressed. How, it may be asked, are we to discriminate between an intentional and unintentional, a purposeful and accidental variation? To which I would reply that this is a matter of long practice and extreme difficulty. It is a power which gradually arises in course of long familiarity with the objects; and the man who acquires it in any considerable degree may claim to be a passed master in numismatics. And of this the reason is clear; for, in order to discriminate between the intentional and the unintentional, we must penetrate the exact

intention of the artist, and this can only be done by those who have already acquired that historical imagination which it is the main object of archaeological studies to foster and promote. He who can look on the works of Greek art with Greek eyes, and judge them as they would have been judged by their contemporaries, is a true master of his subject. And the best means for acquiring this invaluable faculty is to spend as much time as possible in the presence of works of Greek art, and learn by heart the greatest possible number of them.

III.

ART AND MYTHOLOGY OF COIN-TYPES.

CHAPTER I.

Explanation of Plates.

The plan on which our plates are arranged must be briefly explained. On referring to the chart which is placed on the last page preceding them it will be seen that it divides the history of Greek art into six periods, and the Greek world into ten geographical regions, thus making sixty classes of art-productions in ancient Greek times. Nearly all of these sixty classes are represented by still extant coins; and in the plates. But some of them are not represented at all outside numismatics; a fact which shews that we have not overrated the value of coins considered as representative works of Greek art.

Period I of the chart comprises the time down to the expedition of Xerxes in B. C. 480—79. Politically it is characterized by the rule in most Greek cities of Despots, and by the rapid spread of Greek colonies over all the basin of the Mediterranean. The art of this period is the archaic, and some of the most striking of its productions which have come down to us are the early metopes of Selinus which are supposed to date from about the year B. C. 560. The second or later archaic period, B. C. 479—431, is marked politically by the sudden expansion of Greece and more especially the sudden rise of Athens. Calamis, Pythagoras and other great sculptors were at work during this age, but it may perhaps be considered that the most important art-products of its earlier portion are the Aeginetan pedimental groups at Munich, dating from about 470—460 B. C. Of the later part of the period one of the most distinctive artists is the Athenian Myron. It is true that according to history there falls into this period the main artistic activity of Pheidias, as the Parthenon is supposed to have been completed when the Peloponnesian war broke out. But Pheidias was so far in front of his contemporaries that he stands by himself even

as regards sculpture. And certainly his influence did not reach the artists who were occupied in producing coins at so early a period as B. C. 430. All the money which we can on satisfactory grounds assign to that date is by no means free from archaism. It would be therefore entirely misleading, when speaking of coins, to call Pheidias the typical sculptor of the middle of the fifth century.

The next period, B. C. 431—371, is the stirring time of the Peloponnesian war and the fall of Athens. The art of the time is newly developed, or early, fine. The pupils of Pheidias were now all at work, but I have preferred to consider Polycleitus as a better representative of the period, both because his influence was more far-reaching in consequence of the number of his pupils, and because coins shew far more of the influence of Polycleitus than of that of Pheidias. The period of later fine art, of which Praxiteles and Scopas with their colleagues of the second Attic School are the natural representatives, may be reckoned from B. C. 371 to 335, the age of the Theban supremacy, of the Phocians, of Alexander of Pherae and Philip of Macedon. In the time of Alexander the Great and his Generals, B. C. 335—280, we reach the beginning of the downfall of Greek art, which proceeded slowly at first but with ever-increasing rapidity. Of this Alexandrine age Lysippus is of course the representative. The later age of Greece, B. C. 280 to 146, when Corinth was taken, is marked in almost all parts of Greece by a rapid decline in art, the sculpture of Pergamon and perhaps of Rhodes alone retaining its excellence. Coins, vases and gems alike shew at this period much degradation. Only in the execution of portraits do we note an improvement; so that perhaps a great portrait-taker, if it had been possible to select one who towered above the rest, might better represent the period to us than the Pergamene artists who were its chief ornament.

Our geographical divisions, in accord with established numismatic usage, proceed from west to east along the basin of the Mediterranean. The course of civilization was no doubt the opposite, from east to west, but as early as the year B. C. 500, Italy began to outrun Asia in the development of numismatic art and remained in advance not only of the great Continent but even of Greece proper until Rome became her mistress and arbitress.

Our first geographical region consists of North Italy including Etruria and Rome and the Greek colonies further West, such as Massilia in Gaul and Rhoda in Spain. Within these limits the only important early coinage is that of Etruria, of our classes 11, 21, 31; Massilia did not issue much money until the fourth century; Rome had not a coinage worthy of consideration from the point of view of art until the third century. In the second division are included the Greek Colonies of Magna Graecia, from Cumae in the north to Rhegium in the south,

together with the barbarous inland tribes, the Lucanians and Bruttians who conquered the Greek cities about B. C. 300 and were in turn absorbed in the growing empire of Rome. The important classes here are 12, 22. The third region consists of Sicily, which was thoroughly Greek with the exception of the western end which belonged to Carthage, and some parts of the interior where the primitive inhabitants still maintained themselves. The art of Sicily is markedly different from that of Italy on the one hand and that of Hellas on the other. The bulk of the coinage belongs to classes 13, 23, 33.

I divide Hellas into three regions numbered 4, 5, 6. Region 4 consists of Thrace and Macedon including both the rude tribes of the interior and the Greek cities of the coast, of Epirus and Thessaly, Acarnania and Aetolia. Region 5 consists of central Greece between Aetolia and the Isthmus of Corinth, and comprises Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, Attica and Euboea. Region 6 is the Peloponnese. In style there is the widest difference between the coins of northern Greece and those of Peloponnese, each of which classes is in all periods strongly marked. The coins of central Greece on the other hand are less important, the only remarkable coinage in that region belonging to Thebes. The 7th region consists of Crete, of which island the coinage is as we shall see most distinctive and peculiar, as well as the Cyclades. The 8th region is the Cyrenaica in North Africa, comprising the Greek cities of Cyrene, Barce and Euesperis. In all these districts the great time of coinage was our third and fourth periods, the century preceding the time of Alexander the Great.

Our 9th region is Asia Minor, of which we have an abundant and almost uninterrupted coinage from the first invention of money down to the Roman conquest. Perhaps we should have divided this vast district into several. Certainly the coins of the purely Greek cities of the Ionian coast are very different in character from those of such districts as Lycia and Cyprus. But on the whole it was not easy to draw lines of demarcation, so I preferred to keep the entire region for our purposes undivided. Our 10th district comprises all the country to the east of the Mediterranean, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the inland of Asia as far as the banks of the Oxus and Ganges. Most of these countries early began the use of coins; but there is not included in the plates any money of Syria and further Asia of an earlier period than that of Alexander the Great, because the money of Phoenicia and the Persian Empire could not be called upon to bear witness to the progress of Greek art. Egypt is also included in this region, belonging geographically rather to Asia than Africa.

In the plates the coins are arranged according to the sixty classes of the chart. These are not however taken in regular order from 1 to 60, but there are always included in each plate two consecutive periods, experience having

shewn me that this arrangement is most convenient. The upper part of each plate, divided from the lower by lines starting from the border but not meeting, is always of an earlier period, the lower of a later period. Thus on plate I. the upper part comprises the coins of classes 1, 2, the lower part of classes 11, 12; of plate II. the upper part comprises class 3, the lower, class 13; of plate III. the upper part comprises classes 4 to 8, of which 4, 5 are separated by lines from 6, 7, 8; the lower part comprises classes 14 to 18 similarly divided into two sections. And so on with the rest of the plates up to XIV.

CHAPTER II.

Archaic Period, early.

We next proceed to discuss in more detail the art of Greek coins at various periods of Greek history. In doing so, it is however essential to regard coins in connexion with other works of Greek art; more especially with works of sculpture. Coins are reliefs, executed on the same principles as contemporary reliefs in marble and bronze, as the friezes of temples and the fronts of tombs, as well as such smaller reliefs as are exhibited by mirror-cases and slabs of terra-cotta. The particular class of reliefs to which coins belong is that called by Mr Ruskin[1] 'round relief,' being neither on the one hand flat nor on the other hand undercut. In some very early coins indeed, such as that of Syracuse, pl. II. 9, and that of Potidaea, pl. III. 3, we do see something approaching to a flat relief, with sharply defined edges and even surfaces; but as art progresses we get more and more of that 'pleasant bossiness' which is according to Mr Ruskin the essential quality of good work in relief. In the period of finest art the relief of the coins is highest, being distinctly mezzo-rilievo and not bas-relief. In the time of decline it becomes again far lower and more even. Sir Charles Eastlake[2] had a theory that the Greeks gave greater relief to some of the less important parts of a head, notably the hair, in order to save the more important parts from friction; but this theory is scarcely reconcilable with the fact that in the full-face heads which abound during the fine period of art nose and mouth are the parts most exposed to injury.

Our plan is next to take up, one by one, the periods of Greek art, and to consider in regard to each period what help we may gather in its study from an examination of coins. And under each period we must pay careful heed to geographical divisions. The art of Sicily is as widely different from that of Crete as is the art of Italy from that of Asia; and we cannot acquire anything like a complete notion of the art of the Greek world at any stage of its development until we have passed along all the eastern shores of the Mediterranean sea, and learned all we can as to the artistic productions of each region.

[1] *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 170, 'The sculptured mass projects so as to be capable of complete modulation into form, but is not anywhere undercut.'

[2] *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, p. 117.

Copies of Statues.

Of the earliest period of Greek art, that pre-archaic period in which the art of Greece had an Asiatic or Phoenician rather than a native character, we have but little direct evidence from coins. Few of our coins belong to so early a period as the 7th century, and those are almost exclusively from Asia. But if we turn from the coins contemporary with the birth-throes of Greek art to those of a far later date which offer us copies of extant statues belonging to an early period, we may gather much information as to the sources of Greek art and its method of development at the very first. In my xvth plate I have put together a number of coins, minted in Hellenistic and Roman times, which present to us the statues in high veneration in those times in various Greek cities. And among those statues we find several of distinctly pre-Hellenic pattern, and others which exhibit the Hellenic genius beginning to alter and improve the types inherited from barbarous predecessors or instructors.

Mere baetyli, conical stones without any resemblance to the human form, relics of a period of actual fetish-worship, were preserved in temples and held in honour in the later days of Greece. Of this class was the stone said to have been swallowed by Cronus in the stead of Zeus which was preserved at Delphi[1] and daily anointed with oil. Such too was the sacred stone venerated by the people of Troezen in Argolis[2], which lay in front of the temple of Artemis, and on which it was said that nine men of Troezen absolved Orestes for the murder of his mother Clytemnestra. At Pharae in Achaia according to Pausanias[3] there stood in the agora by the statue of Hermes about thirty square stones, which the people venerated, bestowing on each the name of a divinity. 'For in old time,' adds Pausanias, 'among all Greeks honours were 'paid to unhewn stones in place of statues of the deities.' These stones were no doubt in many cases inherited by the Greeks from earlier races, possibly the same race that set up Stonehenge and the erect stones which are so frequent in Cornwall. But the custom may have in other instances been borrowed from the East, where as we know from numismatic testimony stones frequently stood in temples as the supreme objects of worship. At Emisa in Syria for instance a conical stone in front of which was the image of an eagle, occupied the place of honour in the temple (xv. 1). At Sidon, the most venerable xv. 1.

[1] Pausan. x. 24. [2] Pausan. ii. 31, 7. [3] vii. 22.

symbol of the city goddess Astarte was a round stone which was carried in procession in a sacred car, and probably regaled with wine, oil, and other libations (xv. 2). But the Greeks and the semi-Greek races of Asia Minor, Phrygians, Carians and the like, began at a remote period to roughly fashion these sacred stones into something which might pass for a human likeness. One of the rudest of these simulacra occurs on coins of the Emperor or Pretender Uranius Antoninus. Another passed at Perga in Pamphylia under the name of Artemis or Anassa Pergaea. A representation of this figure is usual on the coins of Perga (xv. 3) where its position in a Doric temple excludes all doubt as to its being the real object of cultus in the city. It is of arched form with a rude head and crescent cut on the side of it, together with other patterns the exact character of which is obscure. Better known still are the rough and barbarous figures which passed at Ephesus under the name of Artemis (xv. 4), at Samos under the name of Hera (xv. 5), and at Aphrodisias under the name of Aphrodite (xv. 10). No doubt all these figures were copies more or less faithful of current representations of the Asiatic Goddesses Cybele, Mylitta or Astarte. Of one of these deities we have a late representation on a coin of Myra in Lycia (xv. 6) which merits some attention. There we see the goddess, in truncated form, but with head and breasts distinctly marked, and veiled, in the midst of a tree. Two woodmen approach to cut down the tree, unaware of the indwelling power of the goddess which gives it a sacred character, but they are driven off by two snakes which issue from the trunk. I need not remind readers of Tasso, in connexion with this representation, of the passage of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in which Rinaldo cuts down the myrtle of the sorceress Armida.

xv. 2. xv. 3. xv. 4. xv. 5. xv. 10. xv. 6.

It should be observed that the figures at Ephesus, Samos and Aphrodisias shew modifications specially marking them as representative of the several Greek deities for whom they stand. Artemis, the nurturer of young animals, is a many-breasted figure, with sacred fillets depending from her outstretched hands. By old writers these hanging woollen fillets are called supports, and were supposed to consist of wood or metal[1], but their nature appears clearly on many coins. Hera is closely veiled and clothed in abundant drapery as beseemed a bride. This drapery was not part of the figure but laid about it, like the peplos about the wooden *xoanon* of Athene on the Acropolis. This is at once clear from the nature of things, and evident from the expressions of Lactantius[2],

[1] Overbeck also maintains this view à propos of the Samian Hera. It may be that in some later copies the fillets are transformed into supports, but they are unmistakeably rendered as fillets on some coins, such as those of Ephesus with the figure of Artemis in the *Num. Chron.* 1880, pl. IX. cf. our pl. XV. 13.

[2] *Inst.* I. 17.

who speaks of the statue as clad as a bride (nubentis habitu), and as annually wedded afresh to Zeus. The Samian statue was by tradition assigned to the Aeginetan artist Smilis, but certainly if the work were his it was executed under narrow restrictions imposed by the existence or memory of some consecrated type, for we are able to discern little of Greek inventiveness in the figure. On our coin a Nemesis of the ordinary Greek type stands beside the Samian image. Similarly on the coin of Aphrodisias an Eros of quite a late character accompanies the rude simulacrum of his mother; which is, like that of Hera, draped.

All three of these simulacra, although they were the chief objects of worship in the three Hellenic cities which contained them, shew no trace of Greek handiwork. They are purely Asiatic in character, and yet it was from representations of this class that the Greek sculptural types of divinities were in course of time developed. Before coming to these latter we must produce and comment on a few more Asiatic images. On coins of Euromus in Caria we find (xv. 9) a representation of the Carian Zeus Labrandeus or Osogo, a pillar-like figure wherein the only parts distinctly represented are the head, and the arms, of which one holds a lance, the other a battle-axe. The same deity is figured on coins of Mausolus (x. 22), but there the rude cultus-image is not copied; we find in its place a figure better fitting the age of the coin and the taste of the prince who struck it. On coins of Lesbos we find copies of a remarkable figure of Dionysus, both figure (xv. 11) and head (12). This representation has been identified by Mr Newton as copied from a figure said to have been found by fishermen in the harbour of Mytilene; the head in particular is of a distinctly non-Hellenic type with tall head-dress and long pointed beard.

xv. 9.

x. 22.

xv. 11. xv. 12.

In the case of the Athene of Ilium we have coins which represent two entirely distinct forms, both of which seem early, though they can scarcely be earlier than the time of the Lydian settlement. On coins of Ilium we have a rude standing simulacrum (xv. 13), closely draped and wearing on the head a tall *polos*, holding in the hands spear and spindle. This figure nearly resembles the Ephesian Artemis. On a coin however of Dardanus, which is I believe unpublished (xv. 7), we have a figure of Athene which agrees far more closely with the words of Homer[1],

xv. 13.

xv. 7.

θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο.

Here we see Aeneas fleeing from burning Troy, holding in one hand the hand of Ascanius and bearing in the other a veiled simulacrum of a deity of strongly

[1] *Il.* vi. 303. Cf. Strabo, xiii. p. 601, *πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξοάνων καθήμενα δείκνυται.*

Egyptian pattern, seated on a throne. Whether this representation was copied by the die-cutter from a statue existing in Imperial times at Dardanus we cannot say, but it is probably in character as early as Homer's time and of great interest to the student of art in the heroic age. Unfortunately the coin is ill-preserved.

Heracles is however the Greek deity whose type can be with the greatest clearness and certainty traced to a non-Hellenic, in this case a Phoenician source. Erythrae was a seat of the Tyrian purple-fishery, as indeed the name implies, and Pausanias[1] specially records that the Tyrians erected there a temple to Heracles the Idaean Dactyl, that is to say, no doubt, to their deity Melcarth.
XV. 8. On late coins of Erythrae we find (xv. 8) a very archaic figure of Heracles which is sometimes placed in a temple and is evidently an old cultus-statue. The legs are not separated, but in the body some attempt is made to represent human anatomy. The figure holds aloft in one hand a club, in the other a lance. Pausanias in his Achaica[2] mentions this very statue as existing at Erythrae. Evidently it had aroused his attention. It is not, he says, either of Aeginetan or of early Attic style; but beyond all statues of thoroughly Egyptian style. He goes on to tell a story which seems very improbable that some Tyrian ship which contained it was drifting about at sea and that both Chians and Erythraeans tried to secure it, but the latter were successful. Still there is probably a kernel of truth in the story. That it was of Phoenician origin is at first sight probable, and becomes almost certain if we compare with it the figure of Melcarth on early coins of the Phoenician city Citium in Cyprus
IV. 21-22. (iv. 21, 22). The Deity at Citium is striding, not standing, but he holds aloft the club just as at Erythrae, and in the other hand a bow. A figure of Heracles almost exactly like that on the coins of Citium occurs in a relief of Phoenician character found by Cesnola[3] at Golgi. It is thus abundantly clear that the Greeks inherited from the Phoenicians statues of Melcarth which they renamed after their God Heracles; and also that the whole idea of Heracles as it exists in Greek art comes from a Phoenician source.

Beside the Asiatic statues of divinities hitherto cited I must place a few statues of a not dissimilar character but more Hellenic in style. One of the most remarkable of these occurs on a coin struck in the third century B.C. at Sparta, and bearing a portrait, perhaps of the Macedonian king Antigonus Doson.
XV. 28. It figures in Pl. xv. 28. The statue represented on the reverse is apparently female and clad in long drapery, though this appearance may be due to its pillar-like form. The head is surmounted by a helmet and the hands grasp respectively a lance and a bow. Beside it is a goat. This statue is evidently also

[1] ix. 27. [2] c. 5. 5. [3] Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 136.

an ancient cultus-image, and its attitude closely resembles that of the Heracles of Erythrae. It can scarcely be doubted which of the Laconian deities it represents. Pausanias[1] in describing the Apollo of Amyclae says that he had a helmet on his head, and a lance and bow in his hands, ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. He adds that only the head, arms and feet of the statue were finished, the rest of it being like a brazen pillar, and that it was much older than the throne made for it by Bathycles of Magnesia. Amyclae, it should be observed, was an Achaean city and older than the Dorian Sparta. It would scarcely be possible to describe the figure on our coin more accurately than in the very words of Pausanias, so that it may be considered certain that it is a copy of the Amyclaean Apollo, although, apart from the express testimony of Pausanias, we might rather have judged it to represent Athene, perhaps the Spartan Athene Chalcioecus, whose statue by Gitiadas however would certainly, considering the date of that master, not be so rude as this.

Coins offer us several figures of Pallas of a scarcely more advanced character than this. The Palladium, for instance, which Diomed bears on coins of Argos (VIII. 35), is rigid and stiff in the extreme, and the lance in the raised hand of the goddess reminds us at once of the Amyclaean figure. So too the figures of Athene Itonia on late coins of Thessaly (XII. 35), on those of Seleucus (XV. 17), and of Alexander Aegus shew us in the stiffness of their drapery and the rigidity of their posture that they are reproductions of early originals. It has been noticed that the figure of Pallas which holds the middle place in the Aeginetan pediments is more archaic than the forms of the contending heroes; but the type on our coins is yet more primitive. Of Artemis we find a very peculiar, and no doubt early, statue figured on coins of Leucas (XV. 14). Here again the draped figure is almost columnar in its stiffness; one hand holds an aplustre, the other rests on the head of a stag; while behind is a long sceptre surmounted by a dove. Dove and aplustre alike would beseem Astarte far better than Artemis, and we are inclined to see in this figure, if not a Sidonian original, at least a statue executed in early times under Sidonian influence.

VIII. 35. XII. 35. XV. 17. XV. 14.

We can produce two instances in which valuable copies of celebrated works of sculpture of the archaic period are preserved to us on coins. On a late coin of Athens (XV. 29) we find a figure of Apollo, stiff and rigid, with an archaic arrangement of hair, holding in one hand his bow, and in the other three small figures. We can scarcely be mistaken in seeing here a representation of the Apollo of Delos, executed by Tectaeus and Angelion, and mentioned by Pausanias[2] as holding in one hand a bow, in the other the three Charites or Graces.

XV. 29.

[1] III. 19. 2. [2] IX. 35.

Of this statue I think the only copies preserved are on coins and a gem. In the case of another celebrated statue of Apollo, that executed by Canachus, and set up at Didyma near Miletus, we have small copies in bronze, one in the British Museum. But that they were copies of it we should not have certainly known but for the testimony of the coins of Miletus (xv. 15, 16), which represent with frequency an archaic figure of Apollo, who stands erect, but with the left foot slightly advanced, and holds out in the right hand a stag, while in his left, which hangs by his side, is a bow. This figure we can unhesitatingly identify with the statue at Didyma, and it is from the close resemblance borne to it by the bronze statuettes that we are able to identify them as copies of Canachus' statue. It would be easy to add to these instances of the reproduction on coins of works of archaic Greek sculpture, but enough has been done to shew the character and value of their evidence in this field, and we have reached the limit set by the plate in the production of examples. A few more instances, occurring in plate XIII., are discussed in our final chapter.

xv. 15, 16.

Earliest Types.

Turning now from copies executed at a late period to the coins which were contemporary with works of early Greek sculpture, we find a wide field before us. Our archaic coins, that is, coins issued before the period of the Persian invasion, occupy the upper divisions of plates I.—IV. In plate I. are the earlier coins of Italy, in plate II. those of Sicily, in plate III. those of Hellas, Crete, the Islands and Cyrene, in plate IV. those of Asia Minor. This order is in some respects unfortunate, as it throws the most ancient of our pieces onto the 3rd and 4th plates. No coins of Italy and Sicily date from an earlier time than about the middle of the sixth century, while many of those of Asia and some of those of Hellas and the islands may belong to the seventh century. And indeed the student will remark at once on looking at the plates that many of the coins on the second pair of plates are far ruder and more primitive, both in execution and in design, than any on the first pair. In spite of this disadvantage we have retained our arrangement for reasons of geographical convenience, it being an established rule among numismatists to proceed along the basin of the Mediterranean from west to east. Moreover, in all periods the art of the West takes the lead and advances faster than that of the East, so that it seems to have a right to the first place.

It would have been easy to form an early archaic and a middle archaic period of coins, the former extending from the invention of coinage in the seventh century to about B.C. 550, and the latter from the date just mentioned to the Persian invasion of B.C. 479. It may be well to point out, if this plan had been adopted, which of the specimens on plates III. and IV. would be included in the earlier class. We must remember that in the early part of the sixth century Greek sculpture was in its infancy, only here and there a statue of early Hellenic type standing in the temples amid rude conical stones and misshapen Oriental images. Smaller works of true sculpture can scarcely have existed. But on the other hand the decorative arts, closely retaining their oriental character, were at a high point of excellence. The characteristic works of the time were such objects as the chest of Cypselus, the throne of the Amyclaean Apollo, and the vases painted with rows or tiers of men and animals which are to be found in all great Museums. Beside these circulated works of unmixed Phoenician or Egyptian fabric, such as the bronze and silver bowls which have been found in so many lands, Assyria, Cyprus, Italy, &c., the tripods adorned with the forms of animals and monsters, which reach us from Etruria, and the rude terra-cotta idols which are found so abundantly in Cyprus. Hence we should anticipate, what is the actual case, that the coins of the time would resemble early vases rather than early sculpture, would represent animals rather than deities or heroes, and would bear the impress of oriental rather than of Hellenic art.

Among the earliest representations on coins of Asiatic Greece are, the figure of a seal which occurs at Phocaea (IV. 7), the figure of a stag, which is found on the earliest inscribed coin[1] (IV. 8) which is supposed to have been issued at Halicarnassus, and a chimaera (IV. 9). In the case of the two last I have also represented the reverse of the coins, a rude punch-mark, which is the best pledge of real antiquity. To the same age belong the extremely rough lions' heads (IV. 15, 16, 17), the forepart of a stag (IV. 18), and the monstrous shape composed of lion's and calf's heads joined (IV. 13). IV. 7. IV. 8. IV. 9. IV. 15, 16, 17. IV. 18. IV. 13.

All these figures are entirely devoid of the distinctively Hellenic element, several of them are monstrous, and all the monstrous forms in Greek art come from Eastern sources. Some of them are the work of Lydian artists, though we cannot positively say which, for between Lydian and Greek work there is at this period no distinction. They are crude and without distinctive style, and remind us of nothing so much as the paintings on the very early Greek vases of the style called geometrical, such as are brought from Thera and Cyprus and Athens. They are scarcely superior to the wretched productions of Esquimaux, Mexicans, and other barbarous races, or even of the primeval savages who were

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 262.

contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear, many of whose carvings still remain. But turning to the coins of Hellas proper we may discover at an epoch certainly not later than the middle of the sixth century works of a more interesting and more distinctive kind. Among these is the Pegasus of Corinth (III. 26), the head of a Satyr perhaps from Naxos (III. 19), and that of Pallas from Athens (III. 20), as well as the group representing a Centaur carrying off a nymph on a coin of Thrace (III. 9). It is true that this Centaur last mentioned is not of the early form in which human fore-legs appear instead of those of a horse[1], nevertheless the material of which the coin is made (electrum), its form, the stamp of its reverse, and the roughness of its style all compel us to assign it to an early date. The head of Pallas is important as one of the very earliest works of Athenian art. The projection of the nose, and the size of the almond-shaped eye, pass the custom of even archaic art, and belong to the very infancy of local design. Thiersch has instituted a comparison[2] between the type of head on early Athenian coins and that usual in Egyptian reliefs; but the specimens of Athenian coins on which he relies are not the earliest, but distinctly of the later archaic type. The very early coins of Athens remind us less of what is Egyptian than do those of the fifth century; they are akin rather to Cyprian and Phrygian types. The head of the Satyr is a work of extreme boldness and unconventionality. He has a high pointed ear and a long pointed beard, and hair which falls down his neck in a long heavy mass, like the hair of the Apollo of Tenea. Here is another monstrous form, derived from the East; a form which is gradually modified and softened until the days of Praxiteles. The artist of our coin has understood in spite of his clumsiness to give the head something of Satyric expression. Moreover, these figures, how poor soever as works of art, are yet clearly Greek. They are the bud and not the flower, but the bud of a beautiful and fruitful, not of a stunted and sterile tree.

III. 26. III. 19. III. 20. III. 9.

Italy.

Of the middle archaic period of Greek art, which we place in B.C. 550—479, we have abundant and interesting specimens. We will begin with Italy, the archaic coins of that district occupying the upper part of plate I. The cities of Magna Graecia had attained considerable proficiency in metal-work, alike

[1] Both forms of Centaur, those with human and those with equine forelegs, appear in the sculpture of the early temple of Assos, lately excavated by American scholars.

[2] Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, I. p. 24 (second edit.).

as regards design and execution, when the invention of coinage reached them. So we find here no rude lumps of metal with a mere punch-mark on the reverse, such as are the coins hitherto discussed. On the contrary, we find the care, neatness and elegance, which, combined with stiffness and want of practice, are the distinguishing marks of the best archaic work of Greece and Etruria. The fabric of the earliest Italian money is peculiar. The pieces are broad and flat; on the obverse is a figure in relief, and on the reverse precisely the same figure *incuse*, but turned in the opposite direction so as to give the appearance of repoussé work to the coins themselves; and doubtless, when they were minted, repoussé work was extremely usual in decoration, scarcely any other process being used for early bowls and tripods. But the appearance is in this case misleading. Two distinct dies, both carefully executed, must have been used, and the blank placed accurately between them. Plate I, No. 1, will shew the peculiarity to which I refer; the incuse eagle from the reverse of a coin of Croton (I. 12), being also worthy of careful observation for neatness of execution. I. 1. I. 12.

We have from Caulonia at this period (I. 1), what must be considered one of the most interesting of the figures which have reached us from the Greek cities. A striding figure advances, entirely unclad, towards a stag who looks back to him as if claiming protection or welcoming his approach. In his right hand, which is raised, is a branch, perhaps of laurel; on his left arm, which is extended, runs a little figure, naked, with winged feet, and holding a branch in each hand. The head of this smaller figure is also turned backwards. To detail all the explanations which have been offered of the group would be a long task. That the central figure is Apollo may be considered fairly certain. His attitude towards the stag may then be fairly supposed to be one of protection, and this may be indicated by the twig in his raised hand. But the smaller figure is an enigma. He seems a counterpart of the larger, yet subservient to his will and busy in his service, as he looks back to him while running. In a very charming and ingenious paper Mr Watkiss Lloyd[1] proposes the theory that the larger figure is Apollo Catharsius, the cleansing God, and that the smaller figure is the wind with which he cleanses the air. Caulonia, the writer observes, is a place noted for strong breezes, as is indeed implied in the very name, and its mythical founder was Aulon or Typhon. It may be that to its windy situation the inhabitants attributed the healthiness of the town. Certainly this violently-moving little figure, with his winged feet, would make an excellent impersonation of a wind-god, and the branches in his hands would be the boughs of the trees violently shaken by the wind. On the whole Mr Lloyd's theory seems not only ingenious but also sound, and preferable to those of other writers, that of Raoul-Rochette who identifies the smaller figure with I. 1.

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1848.

cleansing, καθαρμός, or that of Rathgeber who calls him fear, δεῖμος. The most plausible alternative view would be to regard him as an embodiment of the χόλος or wrath of the Apollo, who is about to attack the enemies of the deity with a swiftness indicated by the wings of his feet, and an energy corresponding to his attitude.

I. 2. Second in the plate is a figure of Poseidon thrusting with a trident and wearing only a chlamys passed over both arms. The forms are stiff and rigid, the anatomy strongly but conventionally indicated, just as in the early figures of athletes, the feet flat on the ground. It is worth observing that the two deities who are clad in this particular manner in early art are Poseidon and Pallas, but what may be the cause why the chlamys particularly belongs to them does not appear; unless indeed we find it in the special Thessalian cultus of both these deities, the chlamys being in a marked degree the garment of the Thessalians. The student should notice in the first two coins of the plate the well-known peculiarity of early reliefs, viz., that the head and the body below the waist are represented in profile; the rest of the body between waist and neck faces the spectator. Overbeck[1] has discussed the question whether on the archaic coins of Poseidonia the head of Poseidon is always bearded or sometimes youthful. This he considers doubtful, and remarks that the form of the god is sometimes distinctly youthful. In my opinion the head is always bearded, and the apparent youngness of the figure is rather a result of archaic stiffness and meagreness of outline than of any intention to represent a young Poseidon. Poseidon is here represented in an attitude of attack, as to which we shall have more to say hereafter, *à propos* of later instances of the same type. As our coin can be given, almost with certainty, to the last half of the sixth century B.C. it affords an interesting standard for the assignment of date to statuettes and other extant works of archaic art.

I. 3. No. 3 of our plate is from Tarentum. It represents a young male figure, who holds apparently with the right hand a flower to his nose, and a lyre under the left arm. This also is a type which has raised controversy. Some see in it a figure of Taras, the civic hero of Tarentum, the son of Poseidon, who came over the sea on a dolphin to found the city of Tarentum. Certainly Taras is the usual type of the Tarentine coins, but the flower and lyre seem inappropriate to him. Others, with better reason, believe the figure to be Apollo. In that case the lyre will be thoroughly appropriate, and the flower perhaps scarcely less so. The exact meaning of the latter attribute may still be disputed. Is it a rose? The rose is appropriate to the sun-god in Thrace and in other regions as well as at Rhodes. Perhaps, however, it is a hyacinth. In that case we have a pleasing allusion to the legend which tells of the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus.

[1] *Kunstmythol.* III. p. 222.

Hyacinthus was the youth whom Apollo was said to have slain by accident with a discus; which is but a mythical way of recording the way in which the flower called by his name springs up to greet the sun of spring, but is withered by the red disk of summer sun. Apollo Hyacinthius appears in fact to have had a cultus at Tarentum; and it would seem that the most attractive rendering of our type is not the least probable.

Mr Millingen[1] objects to the identification with Apollo on the ground that so great a deity would be represented as standing proudly rather than as kneeling. But in the first place, this objection does not make sufficient allowance for the restrictions imposed by a circular field. If we turn to plate x., No. 3, we shall find on a Cyzicene stater a kneeling figure of Helios leading two horses; and there are two kneeling figures of Victory under Nos. 2 and 24. Even Zeus kneels on coins of Cyzicus. Millingen's objection then is a mere assumption, of a class far too common in many works of Classical archaeology. And secondly, it has been disputed in regard to this class of figures whether the word kneeling properly describes their attitude. Prof. Ernst Curtius maintains that in considering them we must make the curved border of the coin in thought into a straight line, and remarks that if we do so we shall see that the knees are at some distance from such line, which represents the ground, so that the attitude of the figures will be rather that of running than that of kneeling. We have only to look on as far as the Gorgon, No. 6 in our plate, to see that the ancients did 1. 6.
represent the action of running nearly in this way; but there is a distinction, for the Gorgon's left knee is not on a level with her right foot, as is the case with our Apollo. Whether the action be running or kneeling, we can readily understand what reasons made it a favourite subject with Greek artists of an early time, as in it both arms and legs are extended so as at once to be readily portrayed and to well fill a circular field.

In No. 4 we have Taras riding on a dolphin. That he is still at sea is 1. 4.
made clear by one of those symbolical devices so usual among Greek artists, the introduction below of a bivalve shell. The execution of the figure of Taras on later coins is very different and more finished, but the attitude is in the main preserved, and we may conjecture that it is copied from statues of the Tyrian deity Melcarth, who also was said to have been borne over the sea on the back of a dolphin. No. 5, from an uncertain Greek city of southern Italy, is probably 1. 5.
the earliest figure of Dionysus in existence. The deity is bearded, but he wears no clothing. He holds in one hand the wine-cup, in the other a long branch of vine. We have here an idea of Dionysus entirely different from the majestic type, clad in trailing Ionic robes, which is often designated as archaic, but the actual antiquity of which may perhaps be suspected. In our

[1] *Numism. de l'Ancienne Italie*, p. 107.

coin there is not only rudeness of outline and a Satyric cast of features, but even a considerable trace in the long vine-branch of naturalistic meaning. Hence some have preferred to consider the figure a Satyr rather than Dionysus himself. I should prefer to think that we have here the God of the vine himself, but
I. 6. that the vine and he are as yet not completely distinguished. No. 6 is an Etruscan coin, probably the earliest of Etruscan coins, though it can scarcely be older than the fifth century, and it offers to us, in Etruscan fashion, a shape of horror such as the Greeks for the most part carefully avoided, a Gorgon running and holding in each hand a serpent. Remarkable in this figure are the wings and the drapery, both executed with extreme neatness. In the wings the feathers overlap one another; the drapery is not elaborate but the artist has contrived with much skill to make it seem semi-transparent. The limbs appear through it as clearly and strongly as in Egyptian wall paintings the limbs of women are seen through their light dress.

I. 7, 8, 9. We now reach human heads, 7 and 8 female heads of Nymphs from Velia and Cumae, 9 a male head, that of Taras, from Tarentum. In coins of Sicily the hair of men, or at least of deities, is turned up behind like that of women. But in this case, although the male head has long hair, short hair being indeed most unusual before the Persian wars, it is not trimmed in feminine fashion but put in a braid and wound round the head in the manner of athletes. The front part of the hair in the female heads is represented by dots, the hinder part by lines, and no one can examine early sculpture without seeing that this arrangement is exactly paralleled in it. The short crisp curls over the forehead in archaic statues are supplemented by rigid lines of hair at the back. As an instance I would take the corner figures of the Aeginetan pediments, whose heads, looked at in profile and reduced in size, almost exactly resemble those on early coins. Great prominence of the nose, an eye which looks outward towards the spectator, a rude mouth with corners turned upwards, a very low forehead, these are the distinctive marks of archaic heads, and are to be found not only on our first, but also in the succeeding plates (II. 5—8, &c.).

I. 10. The man-headed bull from Laüs, No. 10, is of very different type from the
II. 8. man-headed bull of Sicily (II. 8). In the Italian coin the head has much elegance, the long hair is turned up behind and confined by a cord, the pose is dignified. The figure reminds us of the Assyrian man-headed bulls 'oiled and curled' and with long formal beards. The Sicilian bull, on the other hand, has coarse features, short stubble-like hair and the horn and ear of a beast. He is swimming, and no doubt represents the river Gelas, looked on as an embodiment of rude and untamed forces of nature, as a parallel being to Satyrs and Centaurs. But his Italian counterpart may have represented other ideas, and be indeed Dionysus, who was largely worshipped in bovine form, more especially in

South Italy. On the coins of Neapolis the man-headed bull is almost certainly Dionysus. It is possible, however, that the greater refinement of the bull of Laüs is due to the refinement of the artist who designed him, for much of it is lost on later coins of Laüs (I. 35). I. 35.

Sicily.

We will next turn to plate II., the upper part of which contains figures of coins of Sicily in the archaic period. Nos. 1 and 2 are the two sides of a most II. 1, 2. remarkable archaic piece of money issued at the small town of Galaria. The obverse bears the legend ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, and a figure of Zeus Soter seated on a throne, and holding in his hand a sceptre surmounted by an enormous eagle. On the reverse is Dionysus clad in a long chiton which leaves his arms entirely free; his hands hold a wine-cup and a branch of vine. His head and feet, in accordance with the already cited canon of early art, are represented in profile, and his body fronts the spectator. It would not be easy to find a parallel for the absolute stiffness, the wooden pose of these little figures, which are more like puppets than Hellenic figures. Almost equally stiff are the Nike and the Pallas from Camarina (Nos. 3 and 4) which also form obverse and reverse of one II. 3, 4. coin, and in which the same ideas of perspective prevail. The Pallas stands stiff and upright, leaning on her spear, with a shield at her feet. Her left hand rests on her hip, and the serpents of her aegis project like a fringe behind her. She is not like the early Palladia, but it must be confessed that in spite of the abandonment of the old level she scarcely rises above the dignity of a puppet. Very doll-like also is the Nike who floats in the air with outspread arms. At her feet is a swan which seems to signify or present the lake of Camarina as the scene frequented by Nike. Both Goddess and swan are enclosed in an olive-wreath. To the former we shall return when we come to the next period.

Passing the long hair and the pointed nose and beard of the ivy-crowned Dionysus from Naxus (No. 5), we reach two female heads surrounded by dol- II. 5. phins. These are Syracusan, and, if the current interpretation be true, they II. 6, 7. represent the nymph Arethusa. The name Arethusa was given at Syracuse to a fountain of fresh water which arose at Ortygia, but of which a branch was supposed to emerge from a fissure in the ground at the bottom of the harbour, the sweet water of which was thus on all sides surrounded by salt water. This fountain is embodied in the nymph's head, and the salt-waves round it are symbolically rendered by three or four dolphins which swim round the head on the

coin as they swam round the spring itself. Of the technical rendering of these heads I have already spoken, but I may add one well-known characteristic, which has been frequently observed in works of archaic sculpture. The ears are placed too high, their centre being about on a level with the eye, instead of their upper edge. In this respect, indeed, we find on coins considerable variety, but on the whole, if we compare all the specimens on plate II., we shall find that in the course of the period of transition the position of the ear gradually changes, and
II. 9—12. it sinks to its true level. Of chariot-types and of horsemen (Nos. 9—12) we will speak under the next period. The cock who figures as the symbol of the god of
II. 13. day on coins of Himera (No. 13) is worth observing in illustration of the thesis that Greek art learned to represent animals with spirit and with truth long before it could fairly deal with the human frame. The cow of Myron was unsurpassed by later sculptors. In the same way this bird of ours leaves in energy and truth little to be desired. The cocks of a later time, pl. XVI. 3, are executed indeed with more delicacy and refinement, but there is very little difference in the type, and scarcely greater truth to nature. This bird does not, however, offer the same scope to art as the nobler eagle, so that we could not expect a
II. 14. great improvement in the design. No. 14 is very interesting. It represents the harbour of Zancle in Sicily. This city derived its name from the sickle-like tongue of land which enclosed its harbour. On our coin the enclosing tongue of land is conventionally represented by an object of sickle-like form, marked with risings which may stand for houses and fortifications, while the actual water of the harbour is embodied in the dolphin within that sickle. Zancle changed its name to Messana about B.C. 490, so that there can be no doubt as to the early date of our coin, which proves what kind of representations of places were current in Greece at the time of the Persian war. At a somewhat later time Zancle would probably have been personified in a nymph.

HELLAS.

From Sicily to northern Greece is a long step as regards art. In Sicily all is delicacy, refinement, careful minuteness even in archaic times; in northern Greece we find on the contrary a rude and somewhat barbarous vigour, turning indeed at a later period to largeness and energy of design, but at first very rough.

On the third plate, however, will be found not only specimens of the numismatic art of northern Greece, but also of Athens, Boeotia and the Peloponnese.

Necessities of space compelled me to this arrangement, which is however to be regretted as it somewhat confuses the evidence for and against certain theories of art put forward by high authority. Professor Brunn has published his opinion[1] that the early coins of northern Hellas have a character peculiar to themselves; and it would naturally be desirable to examine the early coins of Peloponnesus apart in order to discover whether they resemble in character the remarkable reliefs from Sparta and other places in Peloponnesus, of which so much has been said of late years. But we must do our best, taking the plates as they stand, to discuss in order the two subjects just mentioned.

Prof. Brunn's theory of the character of the art of northern Greece is clear and defined. As the representatives of that art we may take, in painting Polygnotus, and in sculpture Paeonius of Mende. Its tone is distinctly Asiatic, and is exhibited alike in the massiveness of the forms, especially in the early period, and in a certain convention and lack of special study and striving after perfection. In the coins of Thasos and the Thracian and Macedonian coasts, Prof. Brunn finds abundant instances for the illustration of his view. Speaking of coins such as our Nos. 1, 2, he remarks: 'The figures are in their outlines 'of extraordinary breadth and massiveness, even far excelling in these respects 'the oldest metopes of Selinus; also, in the modelling of the high relief, the 'forms stand forth in great fulness and volume. Yet these figures, in spite 'of their solidity, are by no means wanting in consistency and proportion, nor 'in a fairly accurate rendering of general forms; sometimes even we find charac-'teristic rendering of detail. In the heads of Satyrs and Centaurs their rude 'animal character is developed in consistent style. Finally, we do not discover 'in the execution any helplessness, but a skilful use of the means at so early 'a period available, a mastery of workmanship which endeavours by the intro-'duction of detail, such as dotted lines in the hair, and indication of ankle 'and knee-cap, to soften and refine the heavy appearance of the design. That 'this peculiar style of treatment is original is shewn by the fact that we may 'trace a distinct development in this class of types, the Satyrs of Thasos for 'instance, up to the free and fine style of execution in detail, while yet the 'attitude and grouping are preserved (cf. III. 28). In the probably more recent 'type of a warrior leading two oxen (III. 4), of a kneeling goat (III. 12), and 'of horses, we cannot but recognize a power of clearly characterizing forms of 'animals... In the coins of Acanthus (No. 13), with the continually varied type 'of a lion tearing an ox, we find a surprisingly developed specimen of decorative 'style.' 'Taken together these coins shew that the Thraco-Macedonian region is 'in itself a separate province as regards the history of art, a province marked

[1] *Paeonios und die nordgriechische Kunst. Proceedings of the Munich Academy*, 1876, *Philosophisch-philologische Classe*, p. 315.

'by special artistic characteristics, by a peculiar style of which the rude begin-
'nings may go back far into the sixth century, and which can be traced at
'least as far as the end of archaic art, that is to say, until the middle of the
'fifth century. In many particulars this style still has influence even in the time
'of the bloom of art; see, for instance, the full and broad treatment of the
'heads' (of Hermes) 'on coins of Aenus (cf. III. 35, VII. 9). In spite of the
'native character of this art, yet the very circumstance that the oldest of
'these coins are struck on the Asiatic standard points to a connexion with
'Asiatic districts of older civilization, which certainly influenced this style of
'art. We trace the influence of Asia in the exaggerated breadth of early
'figures, and in the decorative accentuation not only of hair and manes, but
'also of certain details, especially the legs; finally, in the conventional character
'of execution; although of course all is modified by the individuality of race
'in the district.'

The length of this quotation must be justified partly by the value of the remarks contained in it; partly by the eminence of the writer. It is almost the only criticism of the style of a set of coins written by so great a master; and it is thoroughly founded. The theory as to the art of Paeonius which in the same paper Prof. Brunn develops has scarcely met with general acceptance; but his remarks on the coins of Thrace form the foundation and not the crown of his theory, and might survive even if it were given up. Lines 1, 2, 5, 6 of plate III., and almost the whole of plate VII., afford the reader ample material for testing the words by facts.

Again on pl. III., Nos. 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 41, 42, 43, 50, are specimens of Peloponnesian work of the period before Polycleitus. At a glance we can see in them a certain massiveness and force which seem to belong to the country of their production. But we cannot venture to say that we find in them anything which especially reminds us of early Dorian relief, especially those votive reliefs to the nether deities which have been found near Sparta, and whereof the style is so distinctive. Our Eleian coins especially have nothing of the rudeness of provincial style, but are worthy of a district which might be termed in some sense the art metropolis of Greece.

We must however return to speak of our coins one by one in more detail.

III. 1, 2. Nos. 1 and 2, from Lete in Macedon, display in the highest degree that bulkiness of proportions above spoken of. This peculiarity, reminding us at the first glance of Assyrian reliefs, marks both the beast-like Satyr, who here has horse's hoofs but no tail, and the Nymph whom he holds by the hand, and whose chin he caresses in order to propitiate her. The attitude of this nymph expresses in a most naïve fashion her surprise. It is noteworthy that these nymphs are carefully draped in a long chiton and a curious tightly-fitting upper garment;

naked nymphs belong to a later period. Two more nymphs are represented on No. 6, which coin however belongs to a more civilized district. They are raising an amphora of wine and, considering the period, their attitudes are not unskilfully drawn. With this type we may fairly compare the relief from Thessaly in the Louvre representing two women holding a flower. More refinement still appears in No. 14 from Elis, where Victory is depicted with square and thickset frame indeed, but speed is well expressed in her gait, and her Doric chiton is represented in careful and accurate detail. With one hand she raises her dress that it may not impede her feet, with the other she extends a wreath to a supposed victor in the Olympic games. That her wings appear, one in front and one behind, is of course a result of the attempt at perspective; all her body, from waist to neck, fronting the spectator.

III. 6. III. 14.

No. 3 is a stiff figure of Poseidon Hippius from Potidaea; the deity seems to be without clothing, and bears his trident like a lance. This is I believe quite the earliest figure known of Poseidon in this character. There is no suggestion of sea; the horse is an ordinary land-horse, and below, in place of the shell or fish we might expect, is the well-known symbol of the sun. All this is not easy to explain. Nos. 4 and 5 bring us to a class of Macedonian coins with a new sort of type. Hitherto the representations have been either of deities or of those embodiments of rude forces of nature which were considered half-divine, such as Satyrs and Rivers. But now we reach what appear to be scenes from every-day life. A youth wearing the petasus and holding two spears drives a pair of oxen (No. 4), or leads a horse (No. 5), or (as in other specimens) drives a rude lumbering country-waggon drawn by oxen. Can there be a religious meaning in these types? I am inclined to think that there can. One need not go so far as to see a solar hero in our Macedonian, though that explanation is not absurd, as in early times men always thought of the sun as driving a car or riding a horse, but we may with greater probability reckon him as a mythical hero or ancestor of the race, possibly some demigod who, in Macedonian legends, of which we know little, may have invented the bridle or taught the use of waggons. Animals and man alike display the Assyrian characteristics of massive limbs and rigidly-accentuated muscles. The next Macedonian coin, No. 7, represents Hermes, as an unwinged figure, running at speed, holding the caduceus. He is succeeded, No. 8, by a second running figure. In this second figure there are two pairs of wings, one springing from the heels and one in thoroughly oriental fashion from the waist. The sex of this figure may perhaps be disputed, and with the sex the personality. If it be female, though this seems scarcely likely from the scantiness of drapery, it will probably be termed a Gorgon, in spite of the absence of serpents. If however, as seems more likely, the figure be male it is very interesting. The rose in the field would seem to indicate that it is a

III. 3. III. 4, 5. III. 7, 8.

sun-god, and so would the circular symbol dimly seen in the left hand, or possibly it may be a winged Cabeirus, as the Cabeiri were much venerated on the Macedonian coast.

III. 10. No. 10 from Dicaea is a head of Heracles in lion's skin in which the Satyric character of the hero is clearly marked in the cast of the features. It is also observable that we cannot say here that the lion's scalp is fitted on to the hero's head as on later coins, rather the lion's head is the true type and a human face merely looks out between the jaws. One sees as it were the change

III. 11. from animal-worship to anthropomorphism in progress. No. 11 is a head of Aeneas from Aeneia in Macedon, a city which he is said to have founded. A still more interesting early coin of the same city, which is now at Berlin[1], exhibits a group, Aeneas carrying Anchises, and Creusa carrying Ascanius. These solid testimonies to the antiquity of the myth of Aeneas are of great value in connexion with Roman legend. The myth travelled to many lands in

III. 12,13. connexion with the worship of Aphrodite surnamed Aeneias. Nos. 12 and 13 are good instances of the adaptation of animal figures to a circular field by bending the legs and turning the head back in case of the goat, and by a careful adjustment of figure in the group of the lion and bull which forms the quite Homeric type of the coins of Acanthus. The manner in which the shaggy skin of the lion is represented by dots is noteworthy.

III. 15,16. Nos. 15 and 16, from Arcadia, give us archaic representations of the Arcadian Zeus, the God of cloud and tempest, whose throne was on mount Olympus. The pose of the figure and the arrangement of the drapery over the knees closely resemble those of the statue of the same deity set up by Pheidias in the temple at Olympia which is preserved to us on a coin (pl. xv. 19), the more closely as we know that in the present coins the throwing back of the left arm which holds the sceptre is the mere result of the primitive attempt at perspective. But it will be seen that in the second of our two coins the eagle flies above the outstretched hand of Zeus, and does not touch it. This is a motive impossible in a statue; we may therefore be sure that in this case a rule already laid down holds, that coins in the good times of art never closely or intentionally reproduce a statue. Yet it becomes abundantly clear that not much latitude in the choice of position and attitude rested with Pheidias when he made his statue; the type of the Olympian Zeus, as he must be, was already fixed in the minds of Greek men: and probably existed in statues such as the colossus of Zeus set up at Olympia by Cypselus. Almost exactly similar to the second of our coins in type is a didrachm struck in Elis before the Pheidian age.

III. 17. In No. 17, which was struck at Gortyna in Crete, but has, unfortunately, lost its surface from friction, we have, I believe, the earliest existing representation

[1] *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* VII. p. 221.

of Europa riding on the bull. She is closely draped and stretches one hand in alarm while the other grasps the bull's back. In later representations of the group, which belongs especially to the Phoenician coast and to Phoenician colonies, the mantle of Europa floats free and she seems at her ease, resembling indeed far more nearly that moon-goddess of whom she is supposed to be a variant form, and who is also closely associated with the bull. We have then here a case in which the later representations of a group have truer meaning than the earlier. The close connexion existing between the Europa myth and the city of Gortyna will come under our notice hereafter. No. 18 from Cnossus has for type the Minotaur kneeling or running and holding in one hand a stone. That the head is not, according to usual custom, in profile, may be due to the familiarity of the die-cutter to bull's heads facing, which may even thus early have adorned temples and altars. The coins of Cnossus are full of the Minotaur and the Labyrinth, a fact the more remarkable because remains supposed to be those of the Labyrinth now exist near Gortyna, not Cnossus. Of the five female heads, Nos. 21—25, the first is from Athens and belongs to the guardian deity of the city. Its execution is careful, the eyes, eyebrows, lips and hair alike being rendered with conscientiousness, yet there is also a certain coarseness which will at once strike the student. The second and third are beautiful heads from Corinth, either as one would naturally at first sight imagine of Pallas, or else of the armed Aphrodite, who was a somewhat close translation of Astarte, the goddess alike of arms and love. The attribution must remain uncertain, for there was in the market-place of Corinth a statue of Pallas, while Aphrodite ruled in the Acropolis. Perhaps it may be questioned whether the earring in the second of our coins is not too ornate for the austerity of Pallas. No. 24 is the bust of Aphrodite or a nymph from coins of Cephallenia. It is frequently stated that busts are not found on coins and gems before the Alexandrine age, but this exception, which is in fact almost unique, shows the danger of pressing too hard general rules even when well founded. No. 25 is a veiled head of Hera from Heraea in Arcadia of very early type, and very coarse and heavy features. No. 27 is from Cyrene. The representations are of a silphium plant, the great object of Cyrenean culture, of a seed of silphium and of a lion's head. The silphium usually figures on coins of Cyrene, probably as the sacred plant of Apollo Aristaeus; it is reasonably conjectured that the lion's head, the type of Samos, is introduced into the field as a token of the alliance with that city, of which we have already spoken under *Monetary Alliances*[1].

III. 18.

III. 21—25.

III. 25.

III. 27.

[1] Cf. Müller, *Numism. de l'anc. Afrique*, I. p. 2.

Asia Minor.

Of the early coins of Asia which occupy three lines of pl. IV. many have been already mentioned. We scarcely find at this time in the East figures of deities, very seldom heads of deities. The symbol, which seems to have specially suited the Asiatic mind, takes the place of the direct anthropomorphic representations which were in favour in the West. We find, however, a few interesting types even in Asia. No. 1 from Phaselis, a Greek colony in Lycia, gives us a rude group of Heracles wrestling with a man-headed bull, no doubt the river Achelous who was his rival for the hand of Deïanira. This contest is mentioned
IV. 1. in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, line 9. Nothing could be more redolent of the infancy of art than the way in which the heads of both combatants, alike void
IV. 2. of expression, are turned towards the spectator. No. 2, a horseman from Erythrae, has more style. Here the horse is in vigorous action, but there is a curious mistake in the case of the rider whose left hand, holding the reins, passes on the right side of the horse's neck. The artist would seem to have been unable to persuade himself entirely to conceal that hand. But in the perspective of the chest he has succeeded exceptionally well for his time, the nearer shoulder being raised considerably above the further.

IV. 3, 4. Nos. 3 and 4 merit a careful comparison with one another. There is no great difference between them as to period; both being later than the time when reverses consisted of a rude incuse merely. The former is a head of Ares from Calymna, the latter a head of Pallas from Methymna in Lesbos. There seems no *a priori* reason why they should so differ, but it is at once evident that they present in extreme form the two tendencies of archaic Greek art. The head of Ares is rude to the last degree, whether through want of skill or carelessness,—unless indeed what looks like the face of Ares be really only an iron face-piece attached to the helmet, which seems not impossible;—the head of Pallas is carefully executed though full of convention, the helmet adorned with a winged horse, and in the field a carefully cut inscription. The more finished type would seem to be the work of an artist who inherited Assyrian and Phoenician ideas of art and skill in handiwork; the rougher of one less skilled and less instructed, but more original. The same contrast also marks
IV. 5, 6. Nos. 5 and 6. On 5, which is an early electrum coin, we find a head which bears a superficial likeness to that of Medusa. It is however apparently male, and the character which pertains to it is not the dreadfulness which belongs to the Gorgon, but mere grotesqueness. It would seem to be the head of the dwarf-god sometimes called, as by Raoul-Rochette[1], the Assyrian Heracles, whose

[1] *L'Hercule Assyrien.*

images were spread into many lands by the Phoenicians. No. 6, from Chios, is a refined and delicate image of the Sphinx, the symbol of the island. Of some of the figures of animals which come next in the plate we have already spoken above. But some of them belong to the middle period of archaic art which is now under consideration. Nos. 10, 11, 12 are all electrum staters of the Asiatic coast. Their subjects are respectively a sow, an eagle with a fish in the field, and a bull looking back. The last is supposed to have been struck at Samos about the time of Polycrates; certainly it is a fair specimen of the art which probably flourished at his court, an art decorative rather than sculptural, and Asiatic rather than Greek, but finished in its kind. Likewise decorative and highly finished is the type, No. 14, which combines the foreparts of a winged lion and a winged horse, and shews in design a marked improvement on the clumsy helplessness of the type immediately preceding it in the plate.

IV. 6.

IV. 10, 11, 12.

IV. 14.

CHAPTER III.

Later Archaic period; or period of Transition.

The phrase 'Period of Transition' is perhaps not a happy one, and I do not specially care to defend it. In one sense every age is a period of transition from one social condition to another; in another sense no period can fairly be called a time of transition, for each has its own ideas and ideals. Art, so long as it is alive and progressing, is always in a state of transition from one condition to another; and it only ceases to be transitional when it is become conventional. Yet there is a sense in which especially the art of Greece in the earlier part of the fifth century B.C. can be said to have been in a state of transition, because it was becoming distinctively Hellenic, and gradually quitting the beggarly elements of Assyrian and Phoenician and Ionian industry, and becoming a new light to the world and a chief flower of human activity. If we possessed only Greek works of art of a time preceding the Persian invasion we should look upon Greek art as a sister of the art of Phrygia and Lycia and Cyprus; somewhat better than they, but not embodying a distinctively new impulse. If, on the other hand, we possessed only the works of art of the Pheidian and later periods we should possess the flower, but be wholly ignorant what bud it developed from; we should possess the crystal, but not know of what elements it was compounded. For this reason the art which joins what is Asiatic to what is Hellenic is called the art of the Transition.

Nevertheless the title, 'period of growth' is more correct and more suggestive. It may be said to be a matter of opinion what was the greatest age of Greek sculpture. According to a man's temperament he may prefer the style of Pheidias or of Lysippus or of the Pergamenes. We may call the course of art from B.C. 430 to 330 a rise, a decline or a development on the same level. But that there was until the former of those dates in Greece constant improvement in art cannot be denied. The improvement is naturally of two kinds, and consists partly in the widening and refining of the ideas embodied in art, partly in a more complete mastery of the technique of art, fuller powers of expression,

and a more complete control of the material used, whether stone, metal or earth. The period treated of in the present chapter is B. C. 479—431, which was for all parts of Greece one of great and rapid expansion. It covers the time which elapsed between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; a time peaceful and full of the exhilaration produced by the great victory over the hitherto invincible arms of Persia, and of the proudly dawning consciousness of the superiority of Greek to Barbarian, and of free citizens to the slaves of an absolute despot. And nowhere was the growth and expansion more rapid than in art. Art in the days of Xerxes was in its childhood; when the Peloponnesian war broke out it had already reached the magnificence of its maturity.

Italy.

In Italy and Sicily, not less than in Hellas, the age was one of prosperity and peace. While the Greeks of Hellas were winning their national fame at Salamis and Mycale, Gelo the Syracusan was overthrowing the Carthaginians at Himera, and Hiero was defeating the Etruscans in a great sea-fight at Cumae. In consequence of those two splendid achievements the cities of Sicily enjoyed rest until the Athenian expedition to Syracuse, and the far more fatal invasion of the Carthaginians ten years later; and the cities of Italy retained their peace and prosperity even in the neighbourhood of the warlike Italic tribes until the cruel ravages of Dionysius of Syracuse, and the growth of the power of the Lucanians. And during this time of peace and commercial expansion, art throve wonderfully and grew apace, from decade to decade outstripping further and further the art of Asia. So much has been lost of the products of the Italic and Sicilian schools of the 5th century B.C., so little do we know of their peculiar turns and fashion, that in spite of the later Selinuntine sculptures we should not have known, but for the testimony of coins, how advanced they were, and how widely spread their influence, what originality there was in the types they introduced, and what mastery they shewed in the execution of those types. It even seems probable, that if we would name the place and the time when art entered most intimately into the life of a people and most completely moulded their ideas, filling all the external aspects of life with sensuous beauty and grace, we ought to name beside the Italy of Michael Angelo, and the Athens of Pericles or Alcibiades, also the Sicily of the fifth century B.C. This is certainly the testimony of coins, and it is perhaps confirmed by the beauty of the scanty remains of other kinds which have

come down to us, such as the terra-cotta reliefs from Locri and the early Sicilian vases.

The latter part of Plate I. is devoted to the coins of Italy during this
I. 13. great period, B.C. 479—431. In No. 13 we see the Apollo of Caulonia, and in 14
I. 14, 15. and 15 the Poseidon of Poseidonia at a later stage than when we considered them before (Nos. 1, 2). The lines of the figure and the attitude have not become much less rigid, but the anatomy of the body is less conventional and worked with greater mastery, and a great improvement is visible in the understanding of perspective. In the later coins, though the body at the hips appears in profile and at the shoulders is turned so as almost to front the spectator, this is seen at once to be only a slight exaggeration of the real attitude of one who strides forward with left hand advanced and right hand drawn back, and the parts of the body between hips and shoulders are not unskilfully represented in three-quarter-face. Especially is it important to compare the Poseidon of No. 15 with
I. 14. the Poseidon of No. 14. The order of time is that followed in the Plate; a
I. 15. glance at the heads of the two figures will at once shew that No. 15 is the later. But how far more sturdy and muscular is this figure. And so it is always in the figures on Italian and Sicilian coins. From the middle of the sixth century onwards they are stiff and angular, with exaggerated musculature, but not sturdy or fleshy. It is not until near the middle of the fifth century that figures of squat and thick-set build begin to prevail, such as our No. 15. This rule seems absolute for Italy and Sicily. Of course I am aware that the figures of the earliest Metopes of Selinus are heavy and massive, but they are earlier in time than any of our coins and seem to represent a different current of art. They are in fact in style more like the Macedonian figures at the beginning of our third plate. In northern Greece the proportions are in our earliest period very massive, and in the course of time become progressively attenuated, but there does not appear, as in Italy and Sicily, an interpolated class of figures which remind us rather of wooden xoana than of stone statues.

I. 16, 17. Nos. 16 and 17 are from Metapontum and Pandosia respectively, and repre-
I. 16. sent two standing figures in nearly the same position. No. 16 is somewhat earlier, as is shewn by the way of doing up the hair, which is long and plaited at the back, and by the greater rigidity of the figure, and greater prominence of the muscles. It dates from about B.C. 450, whereas No. 17 must have been struck some twenty years later. It is however remarkable that in spite of the superficial likeness of the two coins, the subjects of them are as different as
I. 16. possible. On No. 16 we see Apollo standing, holding his usual attributes of laurel-branch and bow, as he may have stood beside his omphalos in the market-place of Metapontum; on No. 17 we see the river Crathis sacrificing to the gods, holding in one hand a patera, in the other a long bough. Closely resembling the last

mentioned is No. 16 of pl. II. a coin of Selinus, where we find the river Hypsas sacrificing, a coin which we shall presently have more fully to discuss. On other coins of Metapontum we find Heracles also sacrificing, in almost exactly the same attitude. It is thus abundantly evident that the character of the figures on these coins is in no way due to the particular deities or classes of deities they represent. The attitude is not even peculiar to sacrificing figures, since it is also adopted in the case of the Apollo who is not sacrificing. The truth is that it is little more than conventional. The earlier method of representing a figure standing and engaged in sacrifice is that to be observed in No. 15 of Plate II., where the body of the sacrificer is partly in profile and partly turned towards the spectator, just as in the case of the running figures already mentioned. Later, this figure, although in its general characteristics unchanged, is turned more towards the spectator, except the head, which still remains in profile. No doubt these changes corresponded to the customs in contemporary sculptural reliefs with which, rather than with statues executed in the round, coins should be compared.

II. 16.

II. 15.

We next reach a remarkable series of seated male figures, which are artistically of the greatest interest. No. 18 from Rhegium represents the Demos of that city who is personified under the form of a bearded man who sits in the attitude of Zeus: possibly with the intention of giving him the semblance of Zeus, chief deity of the people of Messene, of which city Rhegium may be considered to be a colony. Nos. 19, 20, 21 represent the Demos of Tarentum who is conceived in the likeness of Taras the founder of Tarentum, and so is figured as a youth, holding in his hand sometimes a spindle, to symbolize the manufactures of Tarentum, sometimes the wine-cup to denote the excellence of its vintage. We are accustomed to associate symbolical figures like that of a Demos with the decline rather than the childhood of Greek art, and not without reason. The rule in early art is to embody the personality of a city in its ruling divinity, not in an allegorical figure. Yet this rule admitted of exceptions. Similarly the pictures on the chest of Cypselus contained allegorical figures, such as Night and Day, Justice and Injustice; and rare as such figures became in the fine time of Greek art, they are never absolutely wanting. It is also interesting to note the conventions of the seated posture at this period, the foot drawn back, so as to occupy the vacant space beneath the throne and the himation neatly folded round the knees, with one end hanging stiffly down: both of which conventions are present, although of course in greatly modified and softened form, in the seated figures of deities in the Parthenon frieze. In spite of these conventions, the figures are very advanced for the period; certainly we might look in vain for parallels to them in Asia and Hellas at the time, save in the works of the greatest masters. In No. 22

I. 18.

I. 22.

the figure riding on a dolphin is no longer the Demos of Tarentum, but Taras himself as he was fabled to have approached the Italian shores, towards which he holds out hands of longing.

A standing and a seated Nike, the former by far the earlier, occur on Nos. I. 23, 24. 23, 24, both from Terina. The early wingless Victory stands in an attitude closely like that of Apollo, No. 16, and the Hypsas, Plate II. 16, but the pose is even stiffer, and there is still less attempt at perspective, notwithstanding which the artist has rendered with care the form of the Goddess' limbs beneath her drapery. Mythologically it is interesting to find an unwinged figure of Victory amid all the winged Nikes of Italy and Sicily. It suggests that perhaps Pythagoras of Rhegium may, in the statue of Victory which he made for the Tegeatae to dedicate at Delphi[1], have adhered to the tradition of Calamis, and represented the goddess as wingless. Careful treatment of drapery, and the attempt to render it partly transparent, are still more visible in the running Nike II. 19. from Catana, Plate II. 19. On No. 24 the Goddess is winged, in accordance I. 24. with universal later custom, and seated on a prostrate amphora, holding out in I. 30. one hand a wreath. The obverse of this coin on No. 30 is the head of the Nymph Terina, or possibly of Pandina whom we know from inscriptions to be a local form of Hecate, and whose head certainly does figure on later coins of Terina[2].

This coin presents us with a phenomenon familiar to all numismatists, but overlooked by many writers on art. The head of Terina on the obverse, and the figure of Victory on the reverse of the coin, are both executed with a want of finish and a carelessness which we are unaccustomed to associate with the idea of Greek art at the period. Another instance will be found in the coin of Eryx, Plate VI. 3, which dates from about B.C. 400; and it would be easy to find many more in our cabinets. These works are distinctly ungraceful and unpleasing, and only an eye well-used to Greek art can see, especially in the treatment of drapery, redeeming points of merit; it would be the easiest thing in the world to mistake their want of carefulness for the want of mastery which marks the decline. I think that these coins sound a warning, and caution us not to give way too hastily to the custom, which prevails perhaps too much in the criticism of vase-paintings especially and terra-cottas, of assuming that bad work must necessarily belong to a late period, and that signs of clumsiness and inconsistency in a work of semi-archaic appearance shew that it must necessarily be archaistic and not really early. I can but throw out this hint, and pass on.

I. 25—30. Nos. 25 to 30 are a series of heads of Nymphs which illustrate most of the stages passed through by the art of representing female heads in relief in

[1] Paus. x. 9.

[2] *Cat. Gr. Coins*, Italy, p. 394.

the period B. C. 470—30. In conjunction with them we may study the heads of Sicilian nymphs, Plate II. Nos. 26—29 and 31. Of all these, Plates II. 29, 31 and I. 27 are the earliest. In them we see the pupil of the eye turned full on the spectator, the almond-shaped eye-socket and the archaic cut of the mouth, of which the corners are turned up so as to give a smiling expression, *τὸ μειδίαμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθός*[1]. The hair is fastened in simple old fashion by being turned up at the back under a band. When the features assume a more Hellenic and less Oriental character, and the eye is represented partly in profile we find the arrangement of the hair also altered in detail though it is put up on the same plan, I. 26, 28, 29, II. 27. Finally not much before B. C. 430 we reach straight features and an expression of *hauteur* together with the coiffure of later Greek times, as in I. 25, where the hair is confined by a simple band; I. 30, where a metal frontlet (ampyx) is passed over the forehead; II. 28 where a long fillet is wound round and round the head, a fashion belonging especially to Aphrodite and Artemis; II. 26 where a saccos or handkerchief entirely covers the hair except in the front, in a manner that can never have been pleasing. We may remark by the way the peculiar thickness of the features in the head last cited, which must be taken as evidence either of close copying of an unusual model, or of unexpected peculiarities in some school of Syracusan art.

II. 26—29, 31. II. 29, 31. I. 27. I. 26, 28, 29. II. 27. I. 25. I. 30. II. 28. II. 26.

The two pleasing heads of Pallas, Nos. 31, 32, are peculiarly interesting because we have the means of closely dating them. Both are from the same spot in Lucania, the site of Sybaris; and both belong to the period immediately following the refounding of Sybaris under the name of Thurium in B. C. 443 by the Athenians. No. 31, as we may see from its reverse, No. 34, was even issued before the name of Sybaris, which the settlers at first used, had given way to Thurium. Athens herself kept the stiff conventionality of her coins unchanged for commercial reasons; but these two coins shew us what but for such conservative prejudices the head of Pallas on the Athenian coin might have become.

I. 31, 32. I. 31. I. 34.

The remaining representations on Plate I. are of animal types. The bull of Sybaris, No. 34, and the man-headed bull of Laüs, No. 35, turn back their heads in the same conventional manner as their predecessors, Nos. 10 and 11. So does the eagle of Croton, No. 36. The lion of Velia, though at bay, is represented in the fixed heraldic fashion of Asia. It is not until the next period that naturalism appears in the attitudes and actions of most animals, even though at this early time their general forms and essential characteristics are well understood and successfully delineated.

I. 35. I. 10, 11. I. 36.

[1] Lucian *Imag.* 6.

Sicily.

Turning to the coins of Sicily of the transitional period, Plate II. 15—42, we find first of all a series of figures of sacrificing river-gods and nymphs of which we have already spoken from the artistic point of view, but which must still somewhat detain us in view of their mythological interest. Their explanation is mainly due to K. O. Müller, but partly to Mr Watkiss Lloyd[1], who has
II. 15. certainly improved on Müller's text. On No. 15 we find the river-god Selinus sacrificing at an altar, beside which is a cock; behind him is a statue of a bull.
II. 36. The other side of this coin is given under No. 36: it bears a chariot in which stand Apollo and Artemis, the former discharging an arrow, while his sister
II. 16. holds the reins. On No. 16, the other river-god of Selinus, Hypsas, stands in
II. 15. the same act as his companion of No. 15, but the accessories of the coin are changed. By the altar is a snake instead of a cock, and a stork occupies the
II. 17. field to the right. The reverse of this coin is given under No. 17 and represents the battle between Heracles and a bull. It would appear that all four of these representations contain allusions to the same event, the draining of some marshes at Selinus by the well-known philosopher Empedocles, whereby health was given to the district and freshness to the waters of its streams. Every touch adds to the fullness of the meaning. Selinus and Hypsas sacrifice in thanksgiving for the purification of their streams; the cock and the snake are alike symbols of the god of healing and cleansing, Asclepius; while the marsh
II. 16. bird, the stork on No. 16, is retiring because the marshes wherein he used to feed are no more. It is true that the ancient account does not present the matter quite in this light. What Diogenes Laertius says in his life of Empedocles is that the philosopher mixed the waters of the two rivers so that they became sweet, but we can scarcely err in supposing that in this mixing of the rivers was implied a construction of artificial channels to take away the surface-moisture of the land.

The groups of the reverse of the coins seem to have a similar meaning. Heracles striking the bull with his club is a visible symbol of the power of bright sunlight in dispersing damp vapours and purifying the air. Apollo shooting out his arrows of light must be taken in the same sense. K. O. Müller indeed thought that Apollo and Artemis appear on our coin rather as senders than as removers of plague and sickness; and this is an idea which might readily occur to any one with the first book of the Iliad fresh in his memory. But the same Deities who scatter the plague also remove it; and it seems preferable to imagine

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1848, p. 108.

them on our coin engaged in a beneficent rather than a pernicious mission. Apollo represents cleansing solar warmth, and as Mr Watkiss Lloyd well suggests, the presence of Artemis is especially suitable because one of the evils under which the Selinuntines laboured before succour was brought them by Empedocles, was the difficulty experienced by women in child-birth. In these charming pieces of money, then, there is quite a hymn of thanksgiving as well as a chapter of history; and they will for ever stand as a record alike of the piety of the Selinuntines and the wisdom of the great Empedocles.

No. 18, from Himera, offers us a subject closely similar to those just dis- II. 18.
cussed; but with interesting variety. Himera was not a city of rivers, but of hot springs which were sought by invalids. It is the Nymph of these hot springs who at Himera sacrifices to the healing deities, while in the background appears a Satyr rejoicing in her waters, which pour over his shoulders from a lion's-head jet. The nymph is clad not in the usual Doric dress, but in a long-sleeved chiton, with himation passing under her left arm and fastened over her right shoulder. This is the dress used in Lycian and early Greek monuments, and may best be called the Ionian.

In No. 20 we have a well-known coin, which is certainly one of the most II. 20.
remarkable in existence. It is of Naxus in Sicily, and represents a bearded Satyr squatting on the ground and holding a wine-cup. In this figure we have the general characteristics of the age, the spare proportions, the exaggerated muscles, the rigidly defined attitude; the head also according to the universal rule at this early time is in profile, while the body faces the spectator. But certainly there is also here much that is unexpected. Our coin can scarcely be so late as the middle of the 5th century: this is shewn by the form X for Ξ in the inscription, and by the very early style of the Head of Dionysus on the obverse, No. 22. We should then scarcely have expected to find, as we do, a distinct notion of perspective and an attempt to foreshorten, as well as a most successful realism in the result of the position of the left arm of the Satyr which supports the weight of his body; the left shoulder being pushed up with considerable truth to nature. It should be added that all coins of this type known come from a single die, and it would seem that that die was executed by an artist of extraordinary talent who was in many points before his time.

The male heads on the section of Plate II. are five in number. We have, to proceed in order of antiquity, an Apollo from Leontini, No. 30, a Dionysus II. 30, 22.
from Naxus, No. 22, and three Apollos from Catana and Leontini, Nos. 23, 24, II. 23, 24,
25, of which the last dates from the downward limit of our period. In the 25.
facial angle of these heads we may trace the gradual transition from the sloping oriental to the more upright Greek line; the mouths slope less and less upwards, the eye looks more and more forward. Especially noticeable is the change in

the arrangement of hair, which is in all cases long, short hair scarcely ever
II. 5. appearing on coins of the period. The hair of the archaic Dionysus, No. 5 of the plate, falls down his back unconfined. In the case of the Apollo, No. 30, we find the customary arrangement of our period, the long hair at the back being plaited and fastened behind the ears, while the shorter hair at the sides hangs straight down, and the hair over the forehead is cut quite short. A similar style of coiffure is to be noticed in Plate III. Nos. 35, 49, Plate IV. 35, 36, and in numberless other instances—as well as in many works of sculpture. It is no doubt taken from contemporary real life. The head of Apollo,
II. 30. No. 30, can fortunately be accurately dated by reason of its close resemblance to the so-called Demareteion of Syracuse to the year B.C. 479. One interesting point about it seems to be the laurel-spray in front and behind, which we may suppose to be placed in the true spirit of Greek symbolism to stand for a laurel-grove surrounding the local temple of Apollo. Of the Demareteion we
II. 32. shall presently speak, but no one who compares its reverse, No. 32, with the
II. 33. reverse of our coin of Leontini, No. 33, can hesitate to give the two pieces to the same time, if to different artists. It would seem however that in Sicily it was before the middle of the fifth century that the long hair of men ceased to
II. 22. be plaited and was done up in other ways. In No. 22 the back-hair is rolled
II. 23. into a sort of ball, and the front hair fastened backward; in No. 23 the back
II. 24, 25. hair is turned up under the string of a wreath; in Nos. 24 and 25 the hair is still turned up thus, but it would seem to be far shorter. No doubt during our period male hair was worn shorter and shorter for the sake of convenience, until after about 430 it was usually cut almost as short as among us.

Of the female heads which come next on our plate I have already spoken.
II. 29, 32. But the so-called Demareteion, obv. No. 29, rev. No. 32, deserves a special mention as a coin of fixed date which is the chief support of the chronological arrangement of early Sicilian coins. In B.C. 480 Gelon, King of Syracuse, won a great victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and as a consequence the Carthaginians sued for peace, which was granted them at the intercession of Demarete, wife of Gelon, on terms so favourable that they presented that lady, in gratitude, with a large quantity of gold, with the proceeds of which she issued coins, which we know on the express testimony of Diodorus[1] to have been of the weight of ten Attic drachms, or fifty Sicilian litrae. The coin on our plate being of precisely that weight, alone among all early Greek coins, and bearing besides the figure of a lion, the well-known symbol of Africa, must be taken to be one of the actual coins issued by Demarete. It is a work of great beauty and in advance of the time. It is doubtful to what goddess we should

[1] Diodorus XI. 26.

ascribe the head it bears; it has been thought by some to be Arethusa and by some Nike.

Nos. 32 to 35 of our plate, which belong to Syracuse, Leontini, Gela and Himera respectively, represent the ordinary four-horse chariots of the Greeks, such as contended at Olympia and the other great festivals; with Victory floating above, and crowning sometimes the charioteer and sometimes the horses. No. 37, from Messana, bears a mule-chariot, also crowned by Victory. These are agonistic types, and commemorate as a rule victories of citizens won at Olympia. The victorious chariot appears at Syracuse and Gela in the time of King Gelon, who ruled both cities and was victorious at Olympia; before his time the chariot at Syracuse is not greeted by Victory, see No. 9. So too Nike floats over the chariot at Camarina subsequently to the Olympian victory of Psaumis celebrated by Pindar[1]; and the victorious mule-car both at Messana and Rhegium may probably be, as Aristotle says it was, a permanent record of the victory won with the *apene* by Anaxilaüs, king of both cities. In other cases however, as on coins of Leontini and Panormus, some lesser victory than an Olympian may be celebrated by the adoption of a chariot-type. The inhabitants of Panormus indeed being of Carthaginian race would scarcely have been admitted to the Olympian contest. The horseman on Sicilian coins, Nos. 11, 38, also seems to refer to agonistic success; to a victory with the *Keles*, in the case where the horseman rides his steed; in the case where he is leaping down, to victory in one of those contests so favourite among the Greeks where charioteers or horsemen had to alight in the midst of their career and run on foot to the goal. It is to be noted as the rule in the coinage of Sicily that the type of a tetradrachm is a four-horse chariot, of a didrachm a horseman leading a second horse, of a drachm a horseman on one horse merely. We might at first be inclined to doubt the assertion that there are four horses to the chariots on Nos. 10, 34, 35, 36, and two horses on No. 11 of our plate. This introduces us to a curious convention practised in the depicting of chariots in Sicily. From early times until about B. C. 420 the artists who had to engrave a chariot indicated two horses clearly, and the remaining two merely by doubling the front outlines of the two already depicted. When a pair of animals only had to be represented, as in the case of the *apene*, No. 37, or the horseman with two horses, No. 11, only one animal was fully drawn and the second indicated by a doubling of outline. Now and then an unusually bold artist, such as the engraver of the Demareteion, No. 32, broke through the convention, and tried to get in either the full number of animals, or at least one more than the usual number; but the old custom soon revived, and lasted even into the period of best art. The engraver who

II. 32—35.

II. 37.

II. 11, 38.

II. 37. 11.

[1] *Ol.* 4. This victory is given to B. C. 452.

cut No. 37 could certainly easily have depicted a pair of mules if he had been disposed; so could the engraver of our pl. VI. No. 24, but they preferred the established usage. Over the victorious chariot Victory sometimes soars like a bird, and sometimes runs with outspread wings. The latter of these attitudes seems the older and it admits of more variety. It is interesting to contrast the earliest
II. 10, 37. running Nike of our plate, No. 10, with the latest, No. 37. In No. 10 the Goddess hurries with swinging arms and stretched legs which are clearly seen through her chiton. She wears an over garment, a most inappropriate thing for a flying figure. One of her wings is depicted as stretched in front of her and one behind, in the fashion followed always in primitive art in the portrayal of birds. With this figure we may compare the larger Nike of Catana, No. 19, which is however more advanced. Possibly this figure may be not of Nike but of Catana under the guise of Nike, for it is noteworthy that on some specimens we find at full length the inscription KATANE which seems to refer to the winged figure.

II. 37. In No. 37, on the other hand, the Goddess moves swiftly without the clumsy exertions of the runner; her wings are evidently the chief means of her propulsion. By a curious conceit of the artist she alights on the reins which bend lightly beneath her as she stretches forward to place her wreath on the heads of the mules. One of the early attempts at the portrayal of a floating
II. 21. Nike may be seen in No. 21; here the Goddess although flying lifts her dress in order that it may not impede the motion of her limbs; a curious way of indicating swift flight. In this case she holds part of a small galley, and seems connected rather with naval war than with the games.

II. 38. In No. 38, from Himera, we see a horseman alighting. The horseman has the same stiff attitude and hard outline as the sacrificing figures of which we
II. 39, 40. have spoken above. In Nos. 39 and 40 we see one of the most usual objects of veneration in Sicily, a river-god. Here however he is not portrayed in human shape, nor like Acheloüs on some of the coins of Metapontum[1] as a man with bull's head, but as a bull with the head of a bearded man[2]. His aquatic character is sufficiently indicated in our No. 39 by the water-bird which swims above him, and the fish below; and indeed he seems from the motion of his front legs to be himself swimming. The head on our No. 40 is of a most majestic character, and not quite such as we should have expected from a Greek artist of the middle of the fifth century. These fluvial types will recur in the next period, when we shall again speak of them. Plate II. concludes with two
II. 41. animals, an eagle from Agrigentum, No. 41, and a hare from Messana, No. 42.
II. 42. It is interesting to place these two side by side, for the eagle is a creature in

[1] Millingen, *Ancient Greek Coins*, p. 17.

[2] Cf. my paper on *Greek River-worship* in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* vol. XI.

the portrayal of which the Greeks wonderfully progressed in the course of their history, while they retained the type of the hare almost unchanged. The eagle here is most heavy and wanting in life and presents a vivid contrast to those we shall find in plate VI. Beneath the hare is an interesting head of Pan with short hair and goat's horn, and beside him his musical instrument the Syrinx.

Hellas.

The coinage of Greece proper cannot at this period compare for variety and care of execution with that of Sicily. Yet Abdera in northern, Thebes in central, and Elis in southern Hellas furnish us with evidence that monetary artists of Greece, if inferior in technical skill to those of the west, were not their inferiors in boldness and originality of design. Evidence to prove this is collected on the lower portion of our third plate. As regards the style of the pieces it would be easy to say too much; to find the peculiarities of various schools in the different districts and to confirm old or maintain new theories of the spread of art. But in such proceeding there are great dangers; and our coins are neither numerous enough nor large enough in scale to form the basis of a sound induction. But it must be mentioned that the theory of Prof. Brunn above stated[1] as to the art of the coins of Northern Greece is based upon and applies to the coins of the present as well as those of the last period. The full and broad treatment of the head of Hermes on coins of Aenus (No. 35) is especially mentioned by Prof. Brunn as indicative of Asiatic influence. But we must not exclude from the comparison other series. The city of Abdera, for instance, presents us with a wonderful series of types, of which the character is very varied (see Nos. 29, 30, 31), and to them Prof. Brunn's remarks seems to me less applicable. The Thessalian coins too, which in types and in style are closely like those of Macedon (Nos. 32, 33), seem to be thoroughly Hellenic rather than Asiatic in style. It thus appears that the style of art in the coins of Northern Greece tends in the middle of the fifth century to lose the character which had originally marked it, and to become assimilated to that of Southern Hellas. And it is noteworthy that at the same period Macedon and Thrace begin to gravitate from Persia to Hellas, to cease their dependence on the great king, and to seek allies at Athens and Sparta. No. 28, from Thasos, represents a subject usual in the III. 28.
mountainous region of Thrace, where a rude worship of Dionysus and his train was at home, as well as in the islands opposite to Thrace. This subject is the

[1] p. 91.

surprise and carrying off of a nymph of wood or spring by a Satyr. In the present case the treatment is refined; and the adaptation of the design to the
III. 29, 30, 31. field of the coin quite perfect. Nos. 29, 30, 31 are from Abdera in Thrace, and ought to give us materials for judging of the art of Northern Greece at the
III. 29. period. On 29 is the bearded Dionysus holding a wine-cup. He is clad in the himation only, which leaves his chest bare, and is as unlike to the usual archaic Dionysus swathed in long Ionian robes as to the later youthful and effeminate Deity of post-Alexandrine times. Here indeed in attitude and general outline he resembles Zeus and Asclepius. Of a not dissimilar type must have been the Zeus Philius, a compound of Zeus and Dionysus, set up at Megalopolis in Arcadia by the younger Polycleitus, holding in one hand a wine-cup and in the other a thyrsus surmounted by an eagle. The approximation of Zeus and Dionysus, if unusual in Greece proper, was as we shall hereafter see quite usual in Asia Minor. His head, by a license unusual on Greek coins, passes outside the linear square cut for his reception, certainly to the great improvement of the
III. 30. design. In No. 30 we have a sturdy figure which has usually been supposed to hold a patera in act of sacrifice. But I am inclined on close examination to think that we have here rather a discobolus. The object supposed to be a patera is too large and heavy to be so considered, and it does not lie in the hand but rests on the arm of the youth who holds it. The frame of this youth is that of an athlete, and his square and powerful figure shews affinity to the nearly contemporary works of Polycleitus. The attitude is not that either of the Discobolus of Myron or other extant statues of the time, but it does not seem an unlikely one for a disk-thrower to assume: the left arm is thrown back nearly in the position in which it is placed by a fencer when he is about to make a forward lunge. Experiment will be the best test for the truth of this theory. It is perhaps worth while to place beside this figure a statement of the Scholiast on Pindar[1], that it was the custom when one of the family of Diagoras the boxer of Rhodes was the subject of a votive statue to represent him with the right hand raised in prayer. This is clearly not the case with our present figure, as the hand raised is the left, not the right. But may there not be a mistake in the statement of the Scholiast? May he not have imagined a hand to be lifted in prayer when it was really placed in attitude to begin the fray? If we consider the attitudes usual to a Greek boxer this will not seem improbable. In the fifth plate of the Journal of Hellenic Studies is figured a small bronze discobolus in nearly the attitude of our athlete.

III. 31. In No. 31 we possess a pleasing figure of Artemis, of a style somewhat earlier than we should expect in view of the fabric. The hair of the goddess is arranged in the early fashion in long locks which fall over her shoulder; in one

[1] Ad *Ol.* VII.

hand she holds an arrow on the string of a bow, and in the other a branch on which feeds a doe which walks beside her. This was no doubt a current type of the period; it may be compared with the Leucadian figure of Artemis, pl. XV. No. 14, which resembles it generally, although far ruder and less tastefully executed, and with the archaic[1] gem of the British Museum signed by the Artist Heius. XV. 14.

Nos. 32 and 33, from Larissa in Thessaly, give us a fair idea of the earlier coins of that district. As the coins of Sicily are full of the worship of lakes and rivers, so are those of Thessaly of records of the prowess of early heroes of Thessalian birth, such as Achilles and Protesilaus and more particularly Jason, whose sandal is the earliest type of the money of Larissa. We have in the present two coins a representation of a struggle between Jason or some other hero and a savage bull. The hero, who wears the national Thessalian dress of hat (petasus) and chlamys, attempts to master the animal by means of a band which he passes round its horns, but the victory is still undecided, and the stress of the conflict is marked by the loose flying of petasus and chlamys; in No. 33 the human combatant is pulled off the ground by his opponent. Contrary to the rule in early Greek coins of the West, the later specimen offers us slighter proportions in the human figure. No. 34, from Terone, a representation of a Satyr looking into a wine-jar, is only remarkable for the skill with which the design is fitted into the field. Of Nos. 35 to 40 we will speak a little lower down. III. 32, 33. III. 33. III. 34.

No. 41 from Elis and No. 43 from Arcadia clearly represent the same deity, the great Olympian Zeus with his attendant eagle. No. 43 is merely a repetition in freer style of Nos. 15 and 16 of the previous period. No. 41 is a more original work. The coin is badly preserved; but we can still trace the design: Zeus is seated on a rock, no doubt mount Olympus, his sceptre lies on the rock beside him; his himation is wrapped about his left arm, while with the right hand he supports the eagle who is ready to start on his bidding. The attitude of the god nearly resembles that which he assumes in the Parthenon frieze, but there is here no trace of the influence of the great pre-Pheidian statue of the Olympian temple of which we seem to catch a reflexion in the Arcadian coin. No. 42, also from Elis, represents Victory, facing, holding in both hands a long taenia. The work is slight and sketchy, but the attitude a bold attempt for the period. III. 41, 43. III. 42.

Nos. 44 to 48 are from Thebes. It is worthy of remark that the time of the great Boeotian artist Myron is also the time when a great variety of interesting types appear in the usually monotonous and inartistic coinage of Boeotia. In No. 44 appears a Goddess clad in long-sleeved chiton, seated cross-kneed on III. 44–48.

[1] Or, archaistic, Brunn, *Griech. Künstler*, II. 613.

a stool, and holding up a helmet. If she be Pallas, the artist has innovated in the treatment of his subject. He has perhaps only followed a custom not unfrequent in early reliefs and vases in omitting the aegis, and transferring the helmet from the head of the Goddess to her hand; but he has certainly placed her in an attitude somewhat free for so august a Deity. Hence some have supposed that it is not Pallas who is represented but Harmonia, wife of Cadmus and daughter of Ares[1]. Next follow representations of Heracles, the special deity of Thebes. In No. 45 he appears as a remarkably short and thick-set figure holding bow and club. This figure nearly resembles that of the Tyrian Melcarth at Citium in Cyprus, pl. IV. 22, the only important difference in the pose being that in the Phoenician figure the right hand with its club is raised over the head, in the Theban figure it hangs down. Of course in the execution of the present relief, and the details, Greek handiwork is apparent; but the hero is nevertheless near to his foreign prototype. The absence of the lion's skin in all these instances is noteworthy. In No. 46 we see a beardless youth stringing a bow in somewhat clumsy fashion. His figure is spare and muscular, and we cannot easily bring ourselves to the belief that this figure is also a Heracles, although it must probably be so considered. The ear on the plate looks as if it were pointed; this however is a mere accident arising from an injury to the coin. The contrast between these two Theban figures of Heracles on coins of the same age and fabric may warn us of the danger of making general statements as to the prevalence of certain types at this or that period or place. No. 47 represents a subject common on vases, Heracles carrying off the tripod of Apollo from Delphi, and menacing its rightful owner with his club. In artistic expression this figure may be com-
VII. 2. pared with a somewhat later, and freer, figure of Poseidon, pl. VII. 2, also from Boeotia: the two correspond very closely. The infant Heracles strangling two
III. 48. serpents, No. 48, is an early instance of a type often afterwards repeated; see pl. VIII. 1; XVI., Nos. 6—8. The young hero is not here as he is represented at a later period, and as the tale demands, a mere baby, but seems already a youth. It is notorious that Greek artists did not learn how to portray children until the days of Lysippus and Boethus: before that time their children are, as here, little men and women.

In representing the head the Greeks of Hellas certainly at this period sur-
III. 35. passed those of the West. That the head of Hermes from Aenus, No. 35, and that of Zeus Ammon from Cyrene, No. 49, are early is at once shewn by the archaic fashion in which their long hair is plaited, yet the type of them is noble and severe; in the features there is not much of archaic convention[2]. Similar is the

[1] Head, *Coinage of Boeotia*, p. 33.

[2] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* II. 294, calls the head on our No. 49 archaistic. It is however certain, that the fabric of the coin is quite early, at all events within our period. Archaistic in the sense

head of Apollo, from Dicaea, No. 36, though here the hair is rolled, in somewhat later fashion, and the head of Aeneas from Aeneia, No. 39. Of the female heads on our plate the earliest in style are the helmeted head of Pallas from Athens, No. 51, and that of Despoena from Arcadia, No. 50. The head of Pallas is a purely conventional type. It is not truly archaic; true archaic heads have more character, cf. No. 21. It is formed by making a general or average type from coin-dies of B.C. 500 or thereabouts and perpetuating it from age to age unchanged. The particular coin chosen for the plate may have been minted at any time between B.C. 450 and 330. Athens alone among Greek cities slavishly repeated the same conventional form in perpetuity until the downfall of her freedom, led thereto no doubt by reasons of commercial expediency, by the fear of limiting the circulation of her coins, which was enormous, if she made them more beautiful. If we wish to see what Athenian die-sinkers could do in the best times, we must turn to the coinage of Thurium, pl. I. Nos. 31, 32. The Arcadian coin, No. 50, exhibits a head of the great Arcadian goddess Despoena; a bold attempt, for the period almost unique, to represent a face in three-quarter view. The perspective is obviously a little out, but the surprising thing is that it should not be worse. In No. 37 from Pharsalus we have an early Thessalian head of Pallas, of which the hair is represented still by mere dots; and in No. 38 a beautiful head of Hera from Corcyra, almost the only beautiful type to be found on the thousands of coins issued by that wealthy state. Of animals we represent a goat from Aenus, No. 40, the traditional owl of Athens, No. 53, which is as fixed a type for the reverse of Athenian coins as the head of Pallas for their obverse, and equally conventional, and an archaic eagle from Elis, No. 52. This last indeed might with equal propriety be given to the earlier period, but for the evidence of date afforded in the style of its reverse, No. 42. The bird is intended to be seen from below, and body and claws are thrown into profile more through the limited skill of the artist than his deliberate design.

III. 36, 39.

III. 51. III. 50.

III. 21.

III. 50.

III. 37.

III. 38.

III. 40, 53.

III. 52.

III. 42.

Asia Minor.

Passing on to the coins of Asia Minor, on pl. IV., lower half, we find ourselves at once in the midst of the works of a less flourishing and more slowly developing art. To prove that they belong to the period now under discussion

of conventionally retaining an older mode of treatment it may be; but it is not in my opinion a work of affected archaism.

and not to earlier times would not be easy, and would require a long dissertation. The real ground of our assignment of date consists in the comparison of Asiatic coins of known date; such as the pieces issued at Magnesia by Themistocles; the coins of the Greek Kings of Salamis in Cyprus; the money of known Persian Satraps; the coins issued by the cities which formed an alliance after the battle of Cnidus (XVI. 6, 7) and other specimens. M. Waddington[1] has satisfactorily shewn that the incuse square of the reverse, which is not found in Sicily after B.C. 480, and begins to disappear in Hellas after 430, persists in Asia Minor until B.C. 400, or even later. And style in Asia is as far behind style in the West as is fabric behind fabric. Of course this is not equally true of all parts of Asia Minor. It would be unreasonable to expect to find in great Greek cities like Colophon and Cyzicus the same sluggishness in art which seems natural in places like Lycia and Cyprus. These truly Greek cities were bound by close ties of religion and commerce with the cities of the West, and lay in the full stream of advancing civilization. Their art was far more advanced than that of the lands behind them. Thus to take an instance from the plate, No. 36, a head from Chalcedon stands on a very different level as regards art from the Cyprian head, No. 33. Yet they may well date from nearly the same time; the difference between them arises rather from geographical than temporal distance. Into lands like Cyprus Greek art filtered slowly, and Phoenician stagnation prevailed everywhere until the days of Evagoras.

Omitting a few exceptional pieces we may safely say that the prominent characteristic of these Asiatic coins is their decorative character. In all the figures far more care is bestowed on the general scheme and outline than on the truth of detail; all have a tendency to approach the character of patterns or devices. That this character properly pertains to works of Asiatic art is too well-known to need further assertion or proof.

IV. 19, 20. Nos. 19 and 20 are two obverses of the well-known and widely current staters of Cyzicus which formed a large part of the coinage of the Euxine and Northern Greece in the fifth century. The mint-mark to be found on all of them alike is the tunny-fish; but the types differ widely. In No. 20, we see a female figure running; she is winged and clad in a long chiton; with one hand she raises her dress, while the other grasps the tunny by the tail. This figure has all the peculiarities already noted as signs of archaic art; the head turned back, the long hair indicated by dots merely, the prominence of the limbs through the dress. We may hesitate whether to see in it a Nike; the absence of attributes deprives us of the means of finally settling the question. It would seem however to be Nike or Eirene. One or other of these names may with greater confidence be given to another running

[1] *Mélanges de Num.* I. p. 15.

winged goddess of somewhat later date, No. 30, on a coin which is usually supposed to belong to Marium in Cyprus, but more properly should be given to Mallus on the Cilician coast. This remarkable figure was evidently cut at a time when skill in the plastic arts was at a high point, but had not yet, at least in conservative Asia, been able to destroy or remodel archaic poses. Between the general scheme which is altogether early, and the details which are carefully and skilfully worked out, there is a marked incongruity. The attribution is however easy; a divinity who carries in one hand a caduceus and in the other a wreath, must be either the genius of victory or the goddess of the peace which follows victory. It should be added that on the reverse of this piece is the conical stone which stood in the district as symbol of Aphrodite, with that goddess then is Nike associated at Mallus, as at Olympia with Zeus, and at Athens with Pallas. IV. 30.

The figure of Heracles, No. 19, may be compared with the representation of the same hero on a Lycian coin, No. 23, and more especially with the two figures, Nos. 21, 22, from coins struck at the Phoenician city of Citium in Cyprus and bearing on the reverse the names of kings of that city written in Phoenician characters. The comparison will tend to confirm the theory already stated of the Phoenician origin of the plastic type of Heracles[1]. The position of the weapons of the hero is clearly dictated by symbolical intent, but it is unnatural, and not such as a Greek would have invented. The later of the figures from Citium, No. 22, shews greater departure from the grotesque and Phoenician and closer approximation to the Hellenic type. Here as on Nos. 19 and 23 the hair of the hero is plaited at the back, his figure more spare and energetic. It is probable that the figure on 19 is intended to be running[2]. On No. 24, from an uncertain city of Pamphylia or Cilicia, we have an oriental rendering of Hermes. This we know from a caduceus on the reverse of the piece. But the wings of the deity have risen from his heels to his shoulders. His form is roughly drawn and somewhat spare; the violent motion of his arms would seem to shew that he is in hot haste. Another Hermes, from Cyprus, No. 27, is of more Hellenic character. Here the wings are in their usual place on the heels, and the god carries his caduceus; over his shoulders is a light chlamys, in depicting which the die-sinker has done his utmost to make the drapery light and of a character not to interfere with the portrayal of form. He would even seem first to have formed a naked figure and then added the drapery by a few lines with the tool. In No. 25 we have a figure of Dionysus from Nagidus in Cilicia, bearded, and clad in a himation only, like the figure pl. III. 29. The present representation is however far ruder and more clumsy; in the right hand of Dionysus is a large twig of vine with two bunches IV. 19. IV. 23. IV. 21, 22. IV. 19, 23. IV. 19, 24. IV. 27. IV. 25. III. 29.

[1] above, p. 80. [2] above, p. 87.

of grapes; in his left hand a huge thyrsus. We must recollect that in Cilicia Dionysus and Zeus were confused, being alternately identified with a native deity. Thus Baal of Tarsus, who was usually considered as Zeus, frequently holds on coins a bunch of grapes.

IV. 26. In No. 26 from Celenderis in Cilicia we have a horseman alighting from his horse, with the help of a spear with which he is armed, a figure to be com-
II. 38. pared with that from Sicily, pl. II. 38. For once Asiatic art has been more
IV. 32. successful both in general attitude and in details. In No. 32 from Erythrae a warrior leads a horse; below the group is an architectural pattern which looks like part of the decoration of a temple or a tomb, and suggests that our type
IV. 29. is a copy or rather a reminiscence of a larger monument. In No. 29 from Aspendus, a hero charges with spear and shield; a figure in design reminding
IV. 31. us of the figures of the Aeginetan pediments, but rudely executed. In 31, of uncertain attribution, we find two naked boxers engaging, each having his oil-flask slung on his arm. These last details can scarcely be introduced with any purpose but in order to fill the field, and perhaps to indicate the athletic character of the heroes; for obviously in such a conflict they would be quite out of place.

IV. 28. No. 28, from Cos, contains a figure which has, I think, been usually misinterpreted. It has been imagined to represent the dance of joy which Apollo executed after he had slain the Python; the god is supposed to hold a cymbal in his hand, while the tripod shews the scene of conflict to be Delphi. But Apollo does not usually appear on the coins of Cos, and if he did appear it would be as a solar deity and not as hero of a legend which belongs peculiarly to Delphi. Moreover it must strike everyone in how undignified a fashion the great god would here be depicted. I venture to propose[1] an entirely different interpretation of the group. The male figure I take to be an athlete, or perhaps a deity in the guise of an athlete, in violent motion, in the very act of hurling a discus which he holds in his right hand, while the tripod is introduced to shew how mighty was the throw, winning the tripod, which was no doubt the prize of the contest. Looked at in this light our coin is interesting as an important addition to the class of agonistic types.

IV. 33. Next follow several representations of heads of male deities. No. 33, a
IV. 34. Cyprian head of Zeus Ammon, and No. 34, a Lycian head of Ares, belong by style rather to the archaic period, though probably they were not struck before B.C. 480, as the art of Cyprus and Lycia developed slowly, and long repeated archaic types. The obverse of No. 33 resembles No. 27 above. The head of
IV. 38. Herakles, No. 38, is also Lycian; but it belongs to the latter part of our period

[1] I now find that this has already been suggested. *Berlin Kön. Münzk.* p. 64.

when the Athenian maritime empire had spread along the Asiatic coast, and with it Athenian art; it closely resembles the works of Greek artists. Nos. 35 and 37 are two heads of Apollo from Colophon, which shew gradual development of style, though even in the later, No. 37, the archaic plaiting of hair is retained. IV. 35, 37. No. 36, from Chalcedon, is in all probability the head of the Thracian sun-god Ares[1]. In spite of archaic convention it has a certain grimness of aspect: the reverse of the coin is a radiate wheel, the primitive symbol of the sun which was later expanded into a chariot. IV. 36.

Nearly all the animal symbols in the last line of pl. IV. are connected with the sun and solar worship, sun and moon in varied form being the chief deities of almost all the peoples of western Asia. In No. 39, from Aspendus, we have a combination of symbols, the lion, one of the simplest and most universal of solar emblems, and the three running legs joined in a common centre, which are also supposed to symbolize the perpetual revolution of the solar disk[2]. The lion and sun are at the present day the type of the Persian coin, and the sun rises above the lion's back, just as does here the triquetra of legs. These symbolical legs passed from Asia into Sicily, and after many turns of fortune became the emblem of the Isle of Man. IV. 39. No. 40, from Cyprus, represents a sphinx pawing a lotus; No. 41, from Lycia, an animal of strongly Assyrian character, a horned and winged lion with the claws of an eagle on his hind feet. Some monsters the Greeks adopted, such as Pegasus and the Sphinx, but I believe that this variety of lion was never naturalized in Greek art. IV. 40, 41. No. 42 is another curious Lycian solar-symbol, a triquetra of cocks' heads, the cock being in many countries, and notoriously in Persia, the bird of the sun[3]. IV. 42. In No. 43 we have a lion of Phoenician handiwork, in company with the name of the king Baal Melek of Citium, who is supposed to have reigned in the middle of the fifth century. IV. 43. This lion is the reverse of No. 21. In the field is the head of a ram. In No. 44 appears a Rhodian solar symbol from the city of Ialysus, the fore-part of a winged boar. IV. 21, 44. The two wings are curiously depicted, one above the other, in such a way that the lower appears to be a continuation of the body, for which reason it has been sometimes erroneously taken for a fin, and the boar supposed to be marine. Winged sea-horses are not unknown, but a winged sea-boar is a creature the existence of which in art may be doubted. In the field below is a helmet.

[1] Cf. my paper on Ares as a sun-god in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1880, p. 49.

[2] E. Thomas in *Num. Chron.* for 1880, pp. 18—48. [3] E. Thomas, l.c.

CHAPTER IV.

Period of Finest Art; early.

To students accustomed to regard the age of Pheidias as the great time of Greek art, and the Parthenon as its highest embodiment, it will be something of a shock to find that our upward limit of finest art is fixed at B. C. 431, when the Parthenon stood complete, and Pheidias was quite at the end of his career. Such students must recollect that our divisions of time are specially arranged in view of the art of one special class of monuments:—coins. It may be considered as fixed by experience and wide induction that the finest coins do, with a few exceptions, some of which may be found on our third plate, belong to the period after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. This fact sufficiently justifies our division. But it may be still further justified if I am right in supposing that the Pheidian school of art did not make its influence at once or greatly felt in the less noble classes of monuments, vases, gems, utensils and coins; and that its influence spread but slowly through more distant parts of the Hellenic world. And indeed the art of Pheidias was better adapted for the adornment of temples than of meaner works, it belonged to the higher aspirations rather than the daily usages of the Hellenic race. Polycleitus, on the other hand, whose name we have chosen in preference to that of Pheidias to denote our epoch, had an extremely wide influence in Greece, an influence extending to all classes of artistic productions, both in consequence of the human and athletic character of his art, and in virtue of the number of his pupils and disciples. And the activity of Polycleitus is supposed to have fallen almost entirely within our period. M. Fr. Lenormant avers that the finest coins of Syracuse, especially the celebrated decadrachms, as pl. VI. 21, shew in style a likeness to the remains of sculpture from the Heraeum at Argos, where, if anywhere, we should expect to trace the manner of Polycleitus; and whether this be a just judgment or not[1], we may be sure, *a priori*, that coin-artists would feel the influence of so widely spread a school; and we shall find traces of such influence when we speak of certain of the coins of the period. Whether we can find more definite traces of other artists of the period we shall discuss lower down.

[1] In my opinion the fragments in the small Museum at Argos scarcely afford foundation for the opinion.

Italy.

Liberated by the victory of Gelo from fear of Carthage, and by the victory of Hiero from interference by the Etruscans, the Greek colonies of South Italy enjoyed during the fifth century B. C. peace and prosperity. They were strong enough to hold in check the warlike nations of the interior, and the fear of Rome had not yet begun to spread towards their borders. Thus we find in the principal cities great abundance of coin and an art which seems in every way flourishing and prosperous.

Our numismatic illustrations of the period for South Italy will be found on pl. v., the upper half. They will not require a very lengthy discussion as the types are mostly those to which we have already become accustomed under the last period. On No. 1 we have again the Demos of Rhegium, cf. pl. I. 18, but the attitude is far easier, indeed somewhat wanting in dignity, and figure and face are alike youthful. The figures of Demos on late coins are as a rule young, perhaps because they embody the perpetual youth and energy of a body politic. No. 2 is the obverse, and No. 7 the reverse of a remarkable coin of Croton, which is in every way exceptional. The ordinary types of the city are the Delphic tripod and an agonistic eagle often bearing a laurel- or olive-branch, as No. 25. But here we have two deities occupying each one side of the coin. On the obverse, No. 2, we have Heracles, leaning on his club, seated on his lion-skin, which is spread on the rocks. But his rest is not here given to refreshment, as in No. 29 below, where he holds a wine-cup; he is engaged, on the contrary, with a solemn sacrifice, and holds the lustral bough of purification. The nature of the religious ceremony is indicated by the legend which accompanies it, written in most archaic letters, letters of a form which must have been long obsolete when the coin was struck. This legend claims Heracles as founder (Οἰκιστάς) of the city and he is no doubt represented as occupied with those sacred rites without which no Greek city was founded, as readers of the *Birds* of Aristophanes well know. We may fairly consider that the device refers more immediately to the solemn rites performed by Heracles after he had accidentally slain the hero Croton, to purify himself from the stain of manslaughter, on which occasion he is said to have prophesied the future greatness of the city which should arise and be called by the name of the man he had slain. There may also be an allusion to the part taken in the foundation of the city by the Heracleid Spartan kings[1]. But Croton was a city the foundation of which was

V. 1.

V. 2. V. 7.

V. 25.

[1] Pausan. III. 3. 1.

directed by the Delphic god, and thus also claimed Apollo as founder; and on
v. 7. the reverse of the piece, No. 7, we find him occupied in his noblest achievement, the destruction of the monstrous Python, at which he is aiming an arrow. The design is evidently made specially for the coin, and in consequence the fillet-bound tripod which usually occupies the whole field in the Crotoniate coins is made the chief thing, and the figures are only placed in the field; we may therefore at once set aside the fancy of those who see in it a more than mere reminiscence of some celebrated work of the time, such as the group of Apollo slaying the Python by Pythagoras of Rhegium. But the design is none the less remarkable. The foreshortening of the lower limbs of Apollo as he bends with the strain of his shooting is a remarkable effort for the period; the drapery which conceals those limbs seems quite out of place in an Apollo; and the attitude of the serpent, who stands erect on his coils, may surprise us, though we see how well it is adapted to the space at the artist's disposal. I know of no work of antiquity more characteristic than this, or more full of suggestion. Marvellously human and measurable is the picture which a Greek artist has here wrought of the victory of light over darkness; entire the absence of mysticism. If we pause but a moment to recall to mind great modern works treating of the same subject, we gain a glimpse of the infinite abyss separating Hellenic from modern art. But on this ground we must not enter. If we ventured to follow up all the interesting vistas which open to us as we examine coins, these pages would never come to an end.

v. 3. No. 3, from Tarentum, represents either the Demos of the city, or preferably the hero Taras, holding out some object, possibly a spindle, to a small animal who leaps up at it. This animal looks like a cat, but it seems to be established as the result of long discussion that the cat was not at this period domesticated out of Egypt; it is not until later Roman times that it became a domestic pet in Europe[1]. We shall probably be right therefore in considering that the animal is intended for a panther's cub. On another Tarentine coin Taras holds out in the same way a bird by the wings; and parallel re-
v. 4. presentations may be cited from vases. On No. 4 the same hero rides through
v. 8. the sea on a dolphin beside which swims another fish. On No. 8 again he
v. 9. appears as a horseman armed with a lance and clad in a chiton; on No. 9 he is naked and bears only a small shield. These four groups exhibit Taras in the most dissimilar connexions; and shew in what a singular light the Tarentines regarded their founder. As son of Poseidon he is borne over the sea by

[1] In a sepulchral relief of which there is a cast in the Berlin Museum of Casts (No. 222), is an animal called in the Berlin *Guide* a cat; but it is probably a rabbit; the head however is wanting.

dolphins and over land by horses; but when grouped with the panther or holding the wine-cup (No. 30) he seems more closely akin to Dionysus. When he holds in his hand the distaff (I. 19, 21) he seems to reflect the manufacturing skill of the Tarentines, when he is armed, their warlike prowess, when he carrries the naval trophy, the aplustre (No. 31), their successful battles by sea, when he holds a tripod, their devotion to the worship of Apollo. In everything he is the embodiment of the race, and in honouring him the Tarentines did little more than give full scope to their civic vanity. This is a somewhat abnormal development of Greek religious feeling, and well accords with what history has to tell us of the character and fortunes of the rich democratic city. Taras too is quite a legendary character. The true oecist of Tarentum was the Laconian Phalanthus; but he seems to have fallen into the background and been superseded in popular cultus by Taras.

It is noteworthy that the buckler, the conical hat, and the absence of a chlamys, distinguish the Tarentine cavalry from those of Thessaly and Greece. We can scarcely imagine a greater love for, or pride in horses, than that displayed by the Tarentines in the whole course of their magnificent coinage; but as yet the horses are stiff and wanting in life, later they become admirable. No. 5, from Poseidonia, continues the old type, cf. pl. I. 14, 15, but in the present instance there is greater freedom, and a piece of local colouring is introduced in the shape of the head of a huge sea-monster. No. 6, which it would perhaps be bold to put to so early a period, but for the style of the obverse of the coin, No. 19, is a magnificent group from Heraclea, representing the battle between Heracles and the Nemean lion. The die must have been cut by a very skilful gem-engraver; the details of the muscles of both hero and beast are worked out with the utmost minuteness. Yet there is nothing of the decline here, no trace of weakness or over-refinement; while the large head and sturdy figure of Heracles and the massive proportions of the lion seem clearly the work of a man who followed an earlier canon than that of Lysippus. A glance at later renderings, such as No. 32, will make my meaning clear. The letter Φ which accompanies this type is found on several other fine coins of South Italy of the period, such as the head of Terina, No. 20. On a fine piece of Thurium, the obverse bears the letter Φ, the reverse the syllable ΦΡΥ[1]. It is possible that in all cases Φ may be the initial of a magistrate's name, but more likely that it is the signature of an artist[2], who may possibly, as the Thurian piece suggests, be the Sicilian engraver Phrygillus. Certainly the style of these pieces is uniform, and as fine and delicate as that of Phrygillus' signed works[3]. No.

V. 5. V. 6. V. 19. V. 32. V. 20.

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat. Italy*, p. 287.

[2] So much has already been stated by Mr Head, *Br. Mus. Guide to Coins*, pp. 30, 50.

[3] *Cat. Sicily*, pp. 168, 182; von Sallet, *Künstler-Inschriften*, p. 39.

V. 10. 10, from Croton, represents the victory of young Heracles over the snakes, a type discussed below.

V. 11. No. 11, from Locri, represents, as the inscription shews, an Eirene. She is an unwinged figure, seated on an altar, which the bucranium on it shews to be meant for sacrifices, and holds the herald's staff. We know not on what occasion this figure was introduced on the Locrian coin; it was doubtless at a time when the people of Locri supposed themselves to owe much to the goddess. In attitude and in proportions, which are decidedly those of the school of Polycleitus, this figure exactly resembles the two which follow it. These are two Nikes from Terina, a city little known to any but numismatists, which are of wonderfully fine work. They may be compared with the same deity on coins of Elis, pl. VIII. 4, the present figures being far more carefully finished, though

V. 13. the design is less graceful. In No. 13 Nike holds, according to her wont, a

V. 12. wreath, in No. 12 a bird, possibly a dove. In the latter attribute we need seek no special meaning, for the dove was not among the Greeks a symbol of peace; but Nike on the coins of Terina is introduced as amusing herself in many ways. Sometimes she plays with a ball, sometimes she fills a hydria from a spring; at other times she fondles a pet swan or dove. She seems in fact at Terina to embody the fresh gladness of nature and the sportive joy of open-air life in a soft and genial region. Above all Greeks the people of South Italy seem to have loved birds and insects and flowers, all of which actually swarm on their coins, just as they do in the seventh Idyll of Theocritus, the scene of which is laid most appropriately at Velia. But we do find something of the same kind in other parts of the Greek world. On a whole series of small coins issued by the cities of Thessaly, for instance, we have representations of river-nymphs occupied in the like joyous play. Sometimes, as at Cierium, they are playing with astragali, sometimes tossing balls, sometimes they are filling hydriae, sometimes seated in quiet enjoyment. They are the happy and ever young forces of nature, every development of which seemed to the Greeks with their sanguine nature and their genial climate full of pleasure and sport. Unfortunately the extremely small size of these beautiful Thessalian coins has excluded them from our plates.

To return to our coins of Terina: it is probable that both of them are by the artist of whom we have just spoken, and who signs with a Φ, for the style

V. 14. is closely like his. No. 14, from Locri, bears a head the attribution of which might perhaps have perplexed us but for the legend, the word Ζεύς. As a head of Zeus this is quite unique; the thick beard and strong bare neck would better suit Heracles. The nearest approach to it is to be noted in the head of Zeus

VI. 37. Eleutherius from Syracuse, pl. VI. 37; the style is no doubt local. On No. 15

V. 15, 16. from Rhegium, and No. 16 from Croton, are two noble heads of Apollo with

long flowing hair; No. 15 is specially beautiful; its style should be compared with that of the pieces from Olynthus, pl. VII. 12, 13, and will scarcely suffer from the comparison. Equally fine are the heads of Athene which follow, Nos. 17 and 18 from Thurium, No. 19 from the Lucanian Heraclea. The figure of Scylla on the helmet of the Goddess on the Thurian coins is a well-known triumph of ancient art; the subject is no doubt adopted from local legends of Italy. Thurium was, as will be remembered, a colony founded by the Athenians in B. C. 434; the beauty of its coinage from the very beginning makes it appear that Athenian artists went with the colony and worked on its coins. So while the old Pallas on the Athenian coins retained its traditional ruggedness, the same deity is represented at Thurium by Attic colonists with all the resources of perfect art. No. 19 is probably by the same artist who executed the head of Terina on a coin of the city of the same name; No. 20, a proud and ungentle but severely beautiful effigy. No. 21 from Nola and 23 from Terina, are also beautiful heads of nymphs. It is uncertain who is intended in the head on No. 22 from Heraclea, a beautiful profile placed on the snake-bordered aegis of Pallas. Such a position could properly suit no head but that of Medusa, but we do not find wing or serpents, nor in fact does the head in any way resemble that of the dread Gorgon. It wears an olive-wreath and is of gentle and pleasing type. Possibly it may be the head of Victory, the servant of Pallas, or even of the Goddess herself: but we cannot speak with any certainty.

V. 15. VII. 12, 13. V. 17—19. V. 19. V. 20. V. 21. V. 22.

On No. 24, from Thurium, is the butting bull, *βοῦς θούριος*, who symbolizes the rapidly gushing springs which procured for the city its name. His aqueous character is indicated by the fish which swims below. This bull is a masterpiece; of noble form and full of energy. On 25 from Croton is an eagle carrying an olive branch, fit symbol of agonistic victory. Next, on 26, comes a lion's scalp of very conventional style, dignified in form, but very far from nature. This type is from Rhegium, and is in fact the reverse of the Apollo, No. 15. The obverse of the coin shews us the artist working from nature and raising it to the ideal; the other side shews us the same artist (in all probability) doing the best he can with a form familiar to him only in architectonic and decorative reliefs. On No. 27 the ear of corn, the usual type of the Metapontine coin, appears with a little bird standing on the leaf, a pretty illustration of what has been said as to the feeling for natural objects displayed by the Italian Greeks.

V. 24. V. 25. V. 26. V. 15. V. 27.

Sicily.

The coins of Sicily of the period B. C. 431—371 are peculiarly interesting for many reasons. In the first place they are commonly regarded as the most beautiful specimens of numismatic art in existence; and the reader by turning to our selection on pl. VI. Nos. 1—34 may easily satisfy himself that this opinion is not without some justification. Again, not only are these coins very beautiful, but they supply a great gap, for there is a paucity of artistic remains of Sicily during the best time; sculptures and vases of this class are alike rare, and neither bear quite so high testimony to the artistic skill of the Sicilian Greeks as do the coins. Once more, most of these Sicilian pieces can be dated within narrow limits. In 409 B. C. began that terrible Carthaginian campaign which laid waste for a time or for ever most of the great cities of Sicily; and those cities which survived the Punic carnage were a few years later ruined by the not less relentless hand of the tyrant Dionysius. It is almost certain that these cities did not issue coin between the time of their destruction by Carthaginian or Syracusan invaders and their restoration about B. C. 345 by the Corinthian Timoleon. During this period Syracuse alone issues money, as she alone has arms and resources. We can therefore with considerable confidence fix a limit below which we cannot bring the coins of each of the Sicilian cities. And the result to which we are driven by the acceptance of this limit is remarkable; that there was a most wonderful sudden ripening of art in Sicily during the period between the Athenian expedition of B. C. 415 and the Carthaginian invasion, a rapid hot-house growth which might, had it been allowed to continue, have produced results still more remarkable than those existing. The Sicilian school might in some respects have outstripped those of Hellas, and left to our day results of imperishable splendour. How much Athenian influence, and in particular the aid lent by the numerous Athenian prisoners of 413 may have helped towards this sudden development, we cannot tell with accuracy; and we should not forget to observe that the phenomenon appears less in Syracuse, where those prisoners were kept, than at Agrigentum, Gela and Camarina. Still it is worth noticing that a chariot-group which might almost have served as the model of the chariots on the reverses of Sicilian coins, with the Nike floating over them, is to be found on a relief from Athens, now preserved in the British Museum[1].

[1] Engraved in *Museum Marbles*, part 9, Pl. XXXVIII.

The subjects usual on Sicilian coins at the period belong to the same mythological cycle as those of the previous generation. We still find sacrifices by river gods, No. 1, or nymphs, No. 2, heads of Arethusa and Apollo, and chariot-groups. But some new types make their appearance, and some old ones undergo important variations. The only thing to be noted in Nos. 1 and 2 is VI. 1, 2. the progress shewn in these later coins in the understanding and rendering of the human form. I think that no archaeologist could look carefully at the figure of Selinus, on No. 1, without detecting a likeness to the copies of the Diadumenus VI. 1. of Polycleitus which exist in various Museums, two in that of London. There are the same heavy proportions, the same large head, the same general balance of the weight of the body on the legs. Our coin is distinctly Polycleitan; and a comparison of it with II. 15 and 16 will shew the reader how well Greek art understood how, while preserving a fixed general type, to reproduce it in the style of various schools and ages. The nymph Himera, on No. 2, is not VI. 2. dissimilar in style, though somewhat less emancipated from traditional treatment; she too has learnt, cf. II. 18, to throw her weight on one foot, and has arranged her himation in far more becoming guise. The Satyr behind her is also remodelled on the principles of the new school; there is however in him a comic element which we do not usually look for in the art of Polycleitus; he seems really to enjoy his warm-bath. It is probably a river-god, Crimissus, who is represented as a young hunter with dogs, standing beside a term on the coin of Segesta, No. 4. We might rather have identified the figure with the mythical VI. 4. founder of Segesta, Segestus or Acestes, but for the fact that on some coins of the class he appears with short horn on his head. This, cf. No. 11, is a dis- VI. 11. tinctive mark of river-gods. Salinas[1] calls him Pan Agreus, and this also is a not impossible attribution, a horned Pan actually appearing with name appended on coins of Messana at this period[2]. But whoever he be, this young hunter is of service to the history of art. For I do not remember any other figure of so early a period who stands in this attitude with one foot raised and resting on a rock, and the whole body bending over it. It is not however essentially different from the attitude assumed in early sculpture by figures loosening the sandal. For this compare the Cretan coin, pl. IX. 13, with a figure of Hermes IX. 13. tying his sandal, and the beautiful Victory from Terina, pl. V. 33, both of which date from the middle of the fourth century. But the exact variety of attitude adopted in the case of the Segestan coin does not become at all usual until Hellenistic times, cf. pl. XI. 37, XII. 2, 38, when it suddenly becomes common, XI. 37. XII. 2, 38. especially in figures of Poseidon. Yet there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt as to the date of our Segestan coin; from the general analogy of Sicilian coins

[1] *Period. di Numism. e di Sfragistica*, vol. III. p. 1.

[2] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmaeler*, no. 528.

it must be given to the earlier part of the reign of Dionysius; and to put it even as late as the time of Timoleon is impossible. Our plate contains other
VI. 7. pleasing aqueous types. On No. 7, from Camarina, the nymph Camarina appears seated on a swan and sailing over the waters of her lake, waters most agreeably indicated by a line of curling waves and a fish. The progress of the Nymph is not like that of a mere mortal; her floating garment makes a sail to catch the wind, and the swan seems to fly rather than to swim; a fish which leaps out of the water behind her adds to the joyousness of the whole scene. On
VI. 11. No. 11 we have the river-god Gelas, who has by this time lost his semi-bovine appearance, cf. pl. II. 8, 40, and retains nothing of the beast, save a little horn over his forehead: *ἀνδρείῳ τύπῳ (κύτει) βούπρῳρος* we might term him in the language of Sophocles. Indeed that phrase better suits him than the figures with bull's head and human limbs to which usually it has been applied. Around his head
VI. 13. three fresh-water fishes swim in most life-like fashion. On No. 13 from Camarina we have a differently-treated head of the river-god Hipparis rising amid a circle of waves and between two fishes; 'summa caput extulit unda.' His hair floats out freely and his somewhat wild features contrast with the dignified repose of
VI. 22. Gelas. And on the Syracusan coin No. 22 we find a head of Arethusa, the name *Ἀρέθοσα* written above, with floating hair amid which fishes glide. These are types borrowed from the river-worship which the Sicilian Greeks practised, borrowing it no doubt from older and ruder races of inhabitants, and then in Hellenic fashion filling it with a freshness of meaning and beauty of expression which made of it something new and splendid.

VI. 3. In No. 3, from Eryx, the Sicilian seat of Aphrodite, we have a remarkable representation of that Goddess, who sits on a stool, modestly draped in chiton and himation, holding a dove in her hand. In front of her stands Eros, a tall winged youth, but represented on a smaller scale than the goddess, as of less importance. The execution of these figures is somewhat barbarous; but we must remember that Eryx was not a Greek city, and that the cultus of Aphrodite there was founded not by Hellenes but probably by Phoenicians. Our type is a not very skilful Greek translation of a barbarous original; we may compare it
VI. 5. with the Aphrodite and Eros of Nagidus on the Cilician coast. In No. 5 from Syracuse appears the hero Leucaspis charging at a run, upright and athletic;
VI. 8. his weapon is not the spear of the ordinary hoplite, but a short sword. In No. 8, also from Syracuse, is a group of Heracles strangling the lion, which is most skilfully adapted to a circular field. Of this type I have already spoken.
VI. 6. The Satyr from Naxus, No. 6, is much refined and improved from his prototype, pl. II. 20. The figure is softened and the head brought nearer to nature, though the general attitude remains, the artist apparently fearing to alter it lest he should produce a design less adapted to the space. The limit of space decidedly cramps

the present figure. But what is most remarkable in our coin is that the soil is depicted and the background filled up with a growing vine. We have thus an effect like that of a painting, an effect common on coins of Crete in the fourth century B.C., cf. pl. IX., but most unusual at this early time. Indeed, an eminent archaeologist, Dr Helbig[1], would limit such representations to the Alexandrine age. But the existence of Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7 of our plate seems not consistent with this view; which indeed sounds strangely to one used to numismatic art. And in fact we may venture to assert that many of the theories as to Greek art which find currency from time to time would not have arisen had the study of coins been familiar to their authors. VI. 2, 4, 6, 7.

We next come to the heads of deities. No. 9, from Leontini, and 10 and 16 from Catana, are of Apollo. No. 9 is of large and noble type of features, with long hair turned up behind in the old fashion; No. 10, on the other hand, is a curious mixture of archaism in design and great delicacy in detail. So youthful is this head, and its expression, though pleasing, so wanting in dignity, that if it had occurred in an isolated way we might have called it rather an Eros; and had it been found save on a coin it might have passed as an archaistic reproduction of later time. But the laurel-leaf and berry, and the analogy of the whole series of Catana, shew that our head is intended as an Apollo, and its date is fixed alike by inscription and style of reverse to about B.C. 420. No. 16 is of later date, though struck before the capture of Catana by Dionysius in B.C. 403. We have here extreme care and refinement, which indeed are carried so far as to spoil meaning. It is on the ground of the occurrence of coins like this that Mr Poole has based his theory[2] that gem-engraving largely influenced the style of Sicilian art. And certainly for that theory there is much justification. Not only do the delicacy and neatness of the work indicate a hand accustomed to work with great accuracy and on a small scale, but in the selection of the types we may discern traces of a taste accustomed to examine minute works of art. Magnify these heads of Apollo to life-size and place them on a statue and they will at once become ridiculous; whereas heads on the coins of Hellas will bear to be magnified many times in imagination without losing anything, but rather will gain in dignity and force. And a material circumstance, which lends weight to this view, is the fact that a large number of Sicilian coins bear inscriptions in so minute characters that to ordinary eyes they are quite invisible without a magnifying glass; some of them indeed have never yet been deciphered with certainty. Several of these inscribed coins are to be found in the present plate, and they will be presently mentioned. Meantime it is quite clear that the monetary artists must have been men of keen and practised sight, and used to cutting intaglios on a small VI. 9, 10, 16. VI. 9. VI. 16.

[1] *Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 286.

[2] *Num. Chron.* 1864, p. 240.

scale. On both the coins, 10 and 16, we may notice characteristic, though slight and affected, traces of the old customs in dressing the hair. It must be added that on No. 16 the object to the left of the type is a woollen fillet, that to the right, a cray-fish or a prawn.

VI. 12, 15. In Nos. 12 and 15, both from Camarina, we find two heads of Heracles which exhibit the same contrast as the lately-discussed heads of Apollo. The earlier, No. 12, is full of spirit and energy; but the head is somewhat truculent for that of an immortal; the later is refined actually into effeminacy, so that, but for the whisker, we might almost imagine it to belong to Omphale rather than Heracles. The head of Gelas, on No. 11, is of the highest type and might well pass as an Apollo, as the bearded heads of the same deity might pass for heads of Zeus, pl. II. 40, VI. 38; that of Hipparis, No. 13, is of more sportive and appropriate character. The head of Dionysus, from Naxus, No. 14, resembles, alike in facial angle and delicacy of execution, the Apolline head No. 10, the manner in which the hair is curled being especially noteworthy. The head of Zeus, from Elis, pl. VIII. 26, may also be compared, especially as regards the treatment of the beard, although to the Eleian coin, as we shall see, a later date must be assigned.

VI. 11. VI. 13. VI. 14. VI. 10. VIII. 26.

The female heads in the middle of pl. VI. are all Syracusan; No. 19 is of Persephone, the rest of Arethusa or Artemis. The female heads at Syracuse are hard to attribute, for they are closely alike in type, and differ only in externals such as the wreath or the fashion of dressing the hair. When we see a wreath of corn we naturally take the representation to be intended for Demeter or her daughter Persephone. Otherwise we suppose it to stand for Arethusa or Artemis Pelagia, who is probably identical with Arethusa. The last-mentioned name however would seem to be more correct, as we find it engraved in small characters over the full-face head No. 22. But in character there is no difference between the heads of Persephone and of Arethusa. In fact the dolphins which were originally placed with an exact physical meaning round the head of Arethusa are in time transferred also to Persephone. In both cases the likeness is of a goddess no longer a child, but in full bloom, full of youth, beauty and pride. The type of loveliness is rich and full, somewhat sensuous, but entirely free from all that is sensual. The numismatic artists seem to have vied one with another in the endeavour to depict a fair girlish emblem of the Greek race, dowered with all pagan charms and graces. In Nos. 17, 18 of our plate the type is simple and strong; and Nos. 19, 20 shew the same mixture of refinement and archaism of which we have already spoken. All four of these pieces were issued before about B. C. 410, as they retain in their inscriptions O for Ω, and the last-mentioned letter came into general use in Sicily just before the Carthaginian invasion. Nos. 21, 22, 23 on the other hand belong to the

VI. 17, 18, 19, 20. VI. 21, 22, 23.

reign of Dionysius, B. C. 406—367. From them archaism has almost entirely vanished; and we find in its place a certain affectation of novelty and search for picturesque effects, which seem to have made their way into Sicilian far earlier than into Greek art. The arrangement of the hair on these three specimens is distinctly over-elaborate and fanciful, though we must not forget that it is the hair of a water-nymph floating loosely amid the waves.

The chariots depicted on plate VI. range over the whole of our period. No. 24, from Selinus, which continues the type of pl. II. 36, Apollo and Artemis driving in a quadriga together, is the earliest. Here the drawing, alike of horses and charioteers, is skilful, and worthy of the obverse of the coin, No. 1; yet the curious convention is preserved whereby the second and fourth horse are depicted only by doubling the front outlines of the first and third. But about B. C. 420 these conventions are thrown aside, and the four horses of the chariots all appear, at first galloping side by side and in step, and next in the freest and most diversified action. Of the galloping in step we have here no representation, but one will be found in Mr Head's *Coinage of Syracuse*, pl. III. No. 12. Of the freer action the plate furnishes several instances, Nos. 25, 26, from Syracuse; 27, from Camarina; 28, 29, from Agrigentum; as well as a contemporary representation of the apene or mule-car from Messana, No. 30. At this period every artist seems to be eager to introduce some novelty into the type. In No. 25 we have a representation in the exergue of the arms which were prizes, ἆθλα, won by the victors in chariot-races. In No. 26 we have a broken rein and prostrate chariot-wheel, incidents but too common in the Olympian chariot-race; in No. 27 Pallas, and in No. 28, Nike take the place of the charioteers; in No. 30 the floating Victory holds a caduceus as well as her usual wreath; in No. 29 she carries—a very questionable piece of taste—a label on which is written the name of the artist who engraved the die, Euaenetus; while the chariot is in the act of doubling an Ionic column, the turning-post or goal.

VI. 24. II. 36. VI. 1. VI. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. VI. 25, 26. VI. 27. VI. 28. VI. 30. VI. 29.

We have just made the first mention of an artist's signature in the field of a coin. Such signatures are quite usual in Sicily at this period, but occur very rarely elsewhere or at any other time. They are placed either in small letters under a type, or else, more often, on some part or adjunct of the type itself. They are thus easily distinguished from the signatures of magistrates, which occupy the field, usually in bold characters. The earliest signature in our plate is that of Eumenus on No. 18. At a later time the same artist spells his name with an H, but here he uses the E, which indicates a date not later than B. C. 410. Cimon signs No. 21, on the body of a dolphin, and No. 22, on the band over the forehead, as well as, probably, the chariot group from Messana, No. 30, on the line of exergue. Euaenetus signs the chariot-groups, No. 26,

VI. 18. VI. 21 VI. 22. VI. 30. VI. 26.

VI. 29. on the exergual line, and No. 29 on a tablet. Eucleides signs the somewhat
VI. 23. over-refined and fanciful, but carefully graven head, No. 23; and a head of
VI. 40. Pallas closely copied on the coin No. 40, which we give to the next period.
V. 41. The head of Pallas on pl. v. No. 41, from Velia, is signed on the helmet by the artist Cleodorus. All these artists belong to the same class; they work with the minuteness and delicacy of gem-engravers, and are constantly introducing some pleasing new variety of type or treatment. It is perhaps scarcely easy to detail the characteristics of each engraver. Mr Head[1] contents himself with remarking that the work of Eumenus is characterized by its stiffness and by a certain roughness of execution; that of Euaenetus by an almost gem-like minuteness of work, which approaches to hardness. Prof. Brunn contents himself in his *History of Greek Artists*[2], with a strong expression of admiration for the work of Cimon, especially the decadrachms, and does not go into detail. With the exception of Eumenus, some of whose works belong to an earlier period, the whole of the artists seem to me to form a group, and it might even puzzle the keenest critic to assign works to one or other of them on the ground of style alone. In this respect they are unlike the artist who signs with Φ in Magna Graecia, who has a distinct style of his own which can easily be recognized. It may be said of all Syracusan artists that their work is not large in character; it is too strictly appropriate to the material and the purpose to tell us much about the state of contemporary art. Some of the rough works of Peloponnesian and Cretan coin-engravers are in view of the history of art far more instructive.

VI. 31–34. Nos. 31 to 34 are Agrigentine, and exhibit some of the finest studies of
VI. 31. animal life in existence. The two eagles of No. 31 are earlier and more con-
VI. 33. ventional, the single eagle of No. 33 more naturalistic; but it is hard to decide which design is the more admirable. In both cases the scene is laid on some lofty rock whither the birds of prey have carried their booty to devour it at their leisure. The hare lies dead, but the ancient artist has not chosen, as a modern would choose, to shew on it the traces of beak and claw. In the
VI. 31. field of No. 31 is a head of Pan or perhaps of a river-god. I must not omit to mention, à propos of the two eagles, the well-known passage of the *Agamemnon*[3] which describes the portent which appeared to the sons of Atreus when about to set out for Ilium, two eagles, one black and one white-tailed, tearing a hare, an omen which Calchas interpreted as foretelling a happy end to the expedition. The coincidence of the words of Aeschylus with our type is very close; both may alike owe their origin to some historical event or at least to a well-known legend. At all events the coincidence will help us to reject the notion

[1] *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 22. [2] II. 432.
[3] l. 114.

that the Agrigentines put the eagle on their coins because it was common in their neighbourhood, or because the cry (κραυγή) of the eagle was like the name Ἀκράγας. All Greeks looked on the eagle as the messenger of the gods, and we can readily understand how eager the Agrigentines would be, if at a crisis of their history eagles brought them a favourable omen, to make it doubly their own by perpetuating it on relief and on coin.

The fish on No. 32 is a remarkable piece of reproduction of nature; Dr Günther thinks that it is intended for a sea-perch. Lastly, we may note how the crab in No. 34 is turned into a human face, by a slight modification of the lines of the back. This treatment of a type on coins is almost unique; but though the effect to us is comic, it does not follow that it was intended to be so. VI. 32. VI. 34.

As to the reasons of our exact determination of the dates of these coins it is necessary to say a few words. It can be proved to demonstration that every coin in the first six rows of our plate belongs to the time before Timoleon, B. C. 344, with whom quite another kind of coins comes in. The Syracusan specimens on our plate may come down to the time of Timoleon. But in regard to the coins of other cities, Selinus, Naxus, Camarina, Segesta, and the rest, it may be doubted whether all are anterior to the Dionysian tyranny, or whether some may not have been struck during its continuance. Certainly from the point of view of art it would be desirable to bring down as late as possible such coins as 4, 7, 15, 16 of our plate. But, on the other hand, the testimony of history seems explicit. Prof. Holm in his *History of Sicily*[1], after summing up the evidence, thus concludes: 'That all these cities (Selinus, Camarina, Catana, &c.) were under 'the Dionysian dynasty either not autonomous or quite unimportant is clear, from 'which it naturally follows that they had no autonomous coinage.' Segesta, the only city which escaped the hands of Dionysius, became during his reign a dependent ally of Carthage.

It would seem then that the earlier dates for Sicilian coins in view of the testimony of history can scarcely be disputed, and we thus arrive at the most extraordinary result, that numismatic art in Sicily had already before B. C. 400 touched its highest point and begun to decline. Even at that period the artists who worked on coins, and who seem in Sicily to have enjoyed peculiar esteem, had carried refinement in execution to the farthest possible point, and even begun to refine away types until they lost their meaning, and to pursue novelty at the cost of affectation. And we shall see in our next chapter that in the days of Timoleon Sicilian art seems to have greatly declined. It is scarcely necessary to say that such phenomena as these are not found in other parts of Greece, not even in South Italy. They would seem then to demand the

[1] II. 446.

careful attention of archaeologists. Towards their explanation I will make but one or two suggestions. Such rapid progress of numismatic art must have been the result of the honour paid to die-cutters in the island, to their frequent rivalries one with another, to the small number of subjects to which they confined themselves,—a few set types and chariot-groups, the possible variations in which are limited; and finally to their circumscription within the narrow limits of space imposed by the field of a coin. Had the efforts of these artists been spread over a wider field or directed to higher ideals they might have met with less prompt and rapid success.

Northern Greece.

The coins of northern Greece selected for illustration of our period will be found in Nos. 1—21, those of Central Greece in Nos. 22—27 of plate VII.
VII. 1. These we may treat as one class. The coin of Thasos, No. 1, which bears the kneeling figure of Heracles discharging an arrow, is somewhat abnormal. The hero is here depicted with a coarseness of outline and clumsiness remarkable for the period. Nor do these faults arise from inability in the artist, as we may
VII. 8. assure ourselves by comparing the fine obverse of the same coin, No. 8. Rather they arise from an assimilation of Heracles to satyr and centaur, which are frequently depicted in coins of Thasos and the region of mainland opposite. Equally
VII. 7. coarse is the group, No. 7, of Dionysus reclining on an ass, wine-cup in hand,
VII. 2. from the Thracian city of Mende. No. 2, from Haliartus or Ariartus in Boeotia, offers us a figure of Poseidon with outstretched arm, striking with the trident. We have here a motive common in early art, as to which we shall have more to say presently, and specially appropriate to Poseidon, see pl. I. 2, 14, 15. The
VII. 22. charging Ajax from Locri, No. 22, is a representation of the Homeric warrior who was the national hero of the Opuntii, a figure of Polycleitan type, square
VI. 5. and solid. Compared with the Syracusan hero, pl. VI. 5, he shews a certain deficiency of animation and excess of fleshiness. He compares also with the Ajax
VII. 43. of the next period, No. 43, as the warriors of the frieze of the temple of Bassae with those of the Mausoleum frieze. The type of infant Heracles strangling
VII. 23. serpents, which appears on the Theban coin, No. 23, is a very usual one at this
XVI. 6, 7. XVI. 8. VIII. 1. V. 10. III. 48. time. It is found in the coinage of the cities of the Cnidian league, pl. XVI. 6, 7, at Lampsacus, pl. XVI. 8, at Zacynthus, pl. VIII. 1, and at Croton, pl. V. 10. It is also found twenty years earlier at Thebes, pl. III. No. 48. The last-

mentioned instance is distinguished by the more archaic treatment of Heracles, who is of less tender age. The Zacynthian design is very peculiar; Heracles in it is grappling with one large serpent, while another prepares to attack his back: the work is strong but hard. The other designs are closely alike and somewhat superficial in character, the easy victory of the baby-hero over his two foes being rendered simply but without special force. The origin and meaning of the type are easily seen. It is originally Theban, and its adoption by other cities seems to be in them a clear sign of Thebaizing. In adopting it those cities place themselves under the protection of the Theban hero. In addition to this we may, without letting fancy run away with us, suppose that there was in the type itself a meaning which generally commended itself. In the days which succeeded the fall of Athens, Thebes was the only power which could make head against Sparta; and the defeat and death of Lysander at the hands of the Thebans must have made great commotion in Greece. From all sides the states oppressed by Spartan harmosts looked to this young and vigorous power as the only one which could liberate them from the serpent-like coils in which Spartan rule held them confined; and within a quarter of a century the young power of Thebes had fully justified the expectations so formed.

In Nos. 3 from Larissa, 4 and 5 from the Macedonian kingdom, and 6 from Pharsalus, we have a series of figures of the cavaliers of northern Greece, which gives us a good idea of their character and equipments. They wore on their heads the flat causia or petasus (the terms seem to be equivalent), on their bodies a chiton and a chlamys,—which streamed in the wind like the jacket of a hussar, and carried a couple of spears. These horsemen no doubt were marked by the usual vices and virtues of aristocracies; conspicuous among the latter, love and mastery of horses. So the type of the horseman, which those who adopted it probably justified by seeing in it the likeness of some ancestral or local hero, became the commonest of all types in the north. The two Macedonian pieces Nos. 4, 5, have the further interest attaching to a fixed date. The first was minted by Archelaus I. B. C. 413—399; the second was issued by Amyntas III. B. C. 389—369, and shews a decrease in dignity and an increase in detail.

VII. 3, 4, 5. VII. 6. VII. 4, 5.

Next follows a remarkable series of heads of male deities. No. 8 is a Dionysus from Thasos, wearing an ivy-wreath, the treatment of which is worthy of note; a work of great beauty, and in dignity rather like Zeus than the god of revels. Not less noble are the two heads of Dionysus from Thebes, Nos. 24, 25, both full of a mild dignity. We may also compare the Sicilian heads, pl. II. 22, VI. 14. In fact these qualities usually mark the effigy of Dionysus in early times; he first becomes youthful and effeminate in the time of Praxiteles. No. 9 is a work in the large and simple style of the Macedonian school, a fine Hermes from Aenus. During this period full-face effigies of deities, which had hitherto,

VII. 8. VII. 24, 25. II. 22. VI. 14. VII. 9.

because of the difficulty of producing them, seldom appeared on coins, become quite usual; and are completely successful. Some of them are masterpieces, as
VII. 9, 11, 24. 9, 11, 24, of the present plate, pl. VI. 22, IX. 26, X. 15. During the decline
VI. 22. IX. 26. X. 15. XIV. 11. they again become rare, the instance pl. XIV. 11 standing almost alone as a successful attempt. The hat of Hermes here, as in pl. III. 35, is a close-fitting felt-cap, by no means identical with the Thessalian petasus, cf. Nos. 3—5 above, to which it was later assimilated at Aenus.

VII. 10. No. 10 is a head in a somewhat dry style of art, probably representing Apollo but possibly Ares, since the coin is Macedonian, and in the north Ares frequently took the place of Apollo. This head is bound with a simple taenia
VII. 11, 12, 13. and not with the laurel-wreath usual in case of the Delphic god. Nos. 11, from Amphipolis, and 12 and 13, from Olynthus in Chalcidice, are singularly beautiful specimens of the art of northern Greece. They belong however to different schools. The full-face head is treated with extreme delicacy but is nevertheless of rather florid type. Though the work is more noble and manly, it resembles the master-
VI. 22. pieces of the Sicilian artists, pl. VI. 22 for instance. But the heads from Olynthus are not without touches of archaic severity. In the sharp, hard cutting of the features, and especially of the locks of hair, there is something which reminds us of early bronze work. Other notable instances of this kind of
VII. 26. treatment are the heads of Apollo, pl. VIII. 8 and pl. X. 15. No. 26, from
VII. 14. Megara, is also an Apollo, and of fine early type. In No. 14, which belongs quite to the beginning of our period, we have a bearded head of Heracles of the stern early class. Here, as in pl. VI. 12, IV. 38, the lion's skin which covers the head ends abruptly at the neck, causing an awkward want of congruity, which disappeared when artists of a later time, more skilled in effect, added paws to the lion's scalp, and tied them round the hero's throat, see pl. VI. 15, VII. 32, XI. 26, XII. 15, 42.

VII. 15, 17. VII. 16. Nos. 15, from Euboea, and 17, from Pharsalus, represent the heads of local nymphs, and 16, from the Macedonian Neapolis, that of Nike crowned with olive. All of these are marked by great hardness of detail, and fine but not expressive cast of features. The best specimen of the class is the head of the
VIII. 27. nymph Olympia, pl. VIII. 27, of which we shall speak in its place. The head
VII. 18. of Pallas, from Pharsalus, No. 18, has been injured on the cheek: in gentleness of expression it approaches the works of the next period. The letters TH behind the head may be the initial letters of an artist's name. The Medusa-head, from
VII. 19. Neapolis, No. 19, occupies a middle place between the Gorgoneion, partly terrible and partly grotesque, of early art, and the beautiful heads in profile of the dying Medusa, which belong to later times and which we shall find on coins,
XIV. 6. I. 6. pl. XIV. 6. The old type is here retained, cf. pl. I. 6, but in an indefinitely softened form; we have something no longer dreadful but merely quaint, and

the terrible snakes in the hair of the daemon are replaced by merely sharply curling locks. On the coins of Parium and Abydos we may trace the change step by step. In No. 20, the lion and bull on the coin of Acanthus pursue VII. 20. the eternal battle which symbolizes the conflict between heat and damp among the physical elements of the world. Comparing this with the earlier group from the same city, pl. III. 13, we may observe that the later artist in spite III. 13. of his technical skill has really improved the design but little. He had evidently never seen a lion. There is indeed a decided loss of vigour in the rendering of both animals; in the earlier group the lion's claw is really fixed in the prey, and the bull is evidently sinking beneath his weight; the later group is little more than decorative. The sculptured group from the doorway of Acanthus, of which casts are to be found in museums, nearly resembles the present type. It is to be observed that in the early period, as we know from Herodotus' narrative of the march of Xerxes[1], lions were to be found in Thrace; but afterwards they nearly or quite disappeared from that district. Whether for this reason or some other, it is certain that in delineating the lion the Greeks of Hellas and Sicily,—I do not say those of Asia Minor, who might see real lions,—declined from period to period, their representations even when in themselves fine being quite unlike the animal represented. Perhaps their most notable failure is the colossal lion from Chaeroneia. But even on coins the decadence can be clearly traced. In early times the Greek artists, though never in this one matter rivalling those of Assyria, yet could depict lions with vigour, see pl. I. 33, II. 32, IV. 14. Later we have merely decorative figures such as the present, No. 41 below, and pl. V. 26, and even monstrosities such as pl. XI. 18.

No. 21 from Olynthus gives us one of the best extant representations of VII. 21. the Greek lyre, all the parts of which are clear. No. 27, from Thebes, is VII. 27. remarkable for the treatment of the ivy-wreath which is depicted in a highly decorative style and fills the field in a way which is quite admirable.

Peloponnesus.

Plate VIII. contains specimens of Peloponnesian art during our period. Nos. 1 to 24 were in all probability issued in the course of it. And with these it seems best to include Nos. 25 to 30, which although they would seem to have been issued just after B.C. 371, are yet of an early style, and have more in common with the beginning than the middle of the fourth century.

[1] Hdt. VII. 125, 6.

VIII. 1. No. 1 from Zacynthus, a most original rendering of the combat of young
VIII. 2. Heracles and the serpents, has already been mentioned. No. 2 from Cephallenia represents the hero Cephalus, seated on a rock, with a hunting-spear in his hand. The proportions of the figure are clumsy and the head large, yet the work is of a good time and rather careless than unskilful. The comparison of this coin led Leake to the belief that the so-called Theseus in the eastern pediment of the
VIII. 3, 4. Parthenon was really intended for Cephalus. Nos. 3 and 4 from Elis are, like all types of Elis, closely connected with the Olympic festival. Victory in one case hurries to greet an agonistic victor, holding out a wreath; in the other case she sits on some steps holding a palm. Victory on the coins of Elis does not fly or alight, but runs, as sometimes even in Sicily: see pl. II. 19. The seated figure of Victory, which will be familiar to the eyes of some readers as the original copied in the English Waterloo Medal, requires special discussion. This figure is seated neither on rock nor chair nor altar, but distinctly on a basis consisting of two steps. This is, I believe, a phenomenon unique in Greek numismatics; and the simplest explanation of it would be that the intention of the artist was to suggest some monumental figure of Victory which was erected at Olympia and placed on a pedestal of this kind. I say *suggest* and not *reproduce*, because as already stated more than once, at this period engravers of coin-dies do not slavishly copy works of sculpture, but at the most produce designs of their own suggested by works of art familiar to them, and suggesting these in turn to the minds of the people. Probably in the monument which the engraver of the present coin had in his mind a figure of Victory was either the principal, or at least one of the most important figures; but that she was sitting in this attitude we cannot say; it is indeed in itself most unlikely, for the pose, though well suited to a relief, is ill suited to a statue in the round, especially if such statue were to be looked at from behind. Do we know of any monument of this period which will suit the circumstances? I have elsewhere suggested[1] that the monument which suits them best is that trophy mentioned by Pausanias[2] as erected by the Eleians in the Altis to commemorate a victory they had won over the Lacedaemonians. The sculptor who made this trophy was Daedalus of Sicyon, and it was set up nearly about the year B.C. 400, which date will suit our coin admirably.

VIII. 5. No. 5 represents Bellerophon spearing the Chimaera, the figure of which appears on the other side of the coin. This rare piece is almost the only abnormal device which breaks the uniformity of the Corinthian coinage. The
VIII. 6. attitude and dress are usual for horsemen, see pl. VII. 5. No. 6 is a very noteworthy head of Zeus of the finest style, from Elis. At first sight this head,

[1] *Numism. Chron.* 1879, p. 242. [2] VI. 2. 8.

which is well rendered in the plate, seems to conflict with all our ideas as to what the head of Zeus should be. The lion-like brow, the mane-like hair, the energetic expression, are all wanting. In their place we have very short closely-curled beard and hair, extremely large features of the purest Greek type and an air of calm unruffled majesty. The short hair is found on the coin of Locri, pl. v. 14, but the cast of features nowhere again. No. 26 also from Elis is also an unexpected type. Here we have distinct remains of archaism in the carefully wrought curls, in the fashion of the beard, even in the eye which is half turned towards the spectator. How different are these heads from the ordinary type of Zeus, of which No. 37 may serve as a representative specimen, and which is repeated in all but a few of the extant statues and busts! Naturally these coins, coming from Elis, and executed by artists who had the great chryselephantine statue of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias directly under their eyes, have excited much discussion among archaeologists[1], and it has been disputed whether they help us towards recovering the true type of the head of that greatest of works of Greek art. In my opinion neither coin is of much service in this respect. But we must distinguish between them. The archaistic piece, No. 26, seems to be entirely apart from the Pheidian conception. It closely resembles the head of Dionysus from Naxus, pl. vi. 14, and like it combines an idea of immature art with careful detail of execution. No. 6 on the other hand is large and original, and may be the work of a great artist of the time of Pheidias. But the greater the artist the less likely would he be to adopt the type introduced by a contemporary, perhaps of a rival school. The coin therefore can help us only in generalities. For details the safest guide is probably the coin of Elis of the time of Hadrian, pl. xv. 18, the engraver of which must certainly have intended to copy the head of Pheidias' statue, and also lived at a time when the copying of works of the great time of Greek art was usual. If he has been unsuccessful the fault lies in his want of talent not in his intention. And this intention to copy makes it more singular that the head he gives so nearly resembles that of Zeus on archaistic reliefs[2].

v. 14. viii. 26. viii. 37. viii. 26. vi. 14. viii. 6. xv. 18.

Next to the Eleian heads of Zeus, the heads of Hera claim our attention. Of these the most beautiful is No. 15 from a coin of Elis; which so closely resembles both in style and execution that of Zeus, No. 6, that we should be justified in giving them both to the same artist. With this head we may compare No. 13 from Argos, and two others belonging to a later time, No. 14 from Argos and No. 29 from Elis. With regard to these a question has been raised similar to that recently discussed, namely, whether in these coins we may acknowledge a close approach to the ideal of Polycleitus as embodied in his

viii. 15. viii. 6. viii. 13. viii. 14. viii. 29.

[1] See especially the Russian *Comptes Rendus* for 1875.

[2] e.g. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, pl. i. 6.

colossal statue of Hera at Argos, which was set up during our present period; an interesting question; but one which must be answered mainly in the negative. We may begin by eliminating No. 14, the hair of which is arranged in masses in the style of the next period, cf. No. 40; as well as No. 29 which bears distinct traces of archaism. The hair in this case is plaited behind in archaic fashion, presenting a very marked contrast to the finished work of mouth and eye. The expression of the goddess is haughty and contemptuous rather than majestic, and the olive-leaves with which her stephanos is bound are elaborated with the detail which belongs to later numismatic art than that of the school of Polycleitus. In Nos. 13 and 15 on the other hand we have works of a time before B.C. 400. And in both of these, differing as they do in details and in style, and various as is their merit as works of art, I would yet see something of Polycleitan influence; more especially in the stephanos which the goddess wears. In the statue of Polycleitus the goddess wore a stephanos adorned with figures of the Horae and Charites[1], and a tall round stephanos appears on the head of the statue of Hera on late coins of Argos[2]. Now the head on our two coins wears a notable stephanos which is adorned with floral ornaments, and it seems to be quite in consonance with the laws of Greek numismatic art to suppose these ornaments to be a translation of the figures of Seasons and Graces. We may then go so far as to say that probably had our coins been struck before the erection of the Polycleitan statue they would have been very different from what they are: but there we must stop. Especially in arrangement of hair our two coins differ from all existing statues of Hera, and may well also have differed from contemporary statues.

VIII. 13, 15.

No. 7 gives us a head of Asclepius from his city of Epidaurus. It is of hard and dry work, and expresses none of the benevolence which we look for in effigies of this god. At about the time when it was struck Thrasymedes of Paros was setting up his celebrated statue of Asclepius in the same city; but we do not know that there was any connexion between coin and statue. The head of Apollo from Zacynthus, No. 8, and that of the nymph Olympia from Elis, No. 27, may be spoken of together because they are closely alike in fabric; their lines are hard and strong and clear, and they impress us like works in bronze; they have in fact in them something of archaic want of geniality. In the Apollo the hair is still long, and turned back from the forehead like a woman's; the head of the nymph distinctly reminds us of that of the reclining corner figure from the western pediment of the Olympian temple. That the nymph Olympia and not the Olympian Hera is represented is made certain not only by considerations of style, but also by the fact that the inscription Ὀλυμπία is

VIII. 7.

VIII. 8, 27.

[1] Pausan. II. 17. 4.

[2] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* III. 125.

found on similar pieces, and apparently as the name of the person represented and not a mere epithet. Nos. 9 and 12 are heads of Cephalus and Procris from the island of Cephallenia, where their myth was at home. Cephalus as in No. 2 is a sturdy young huntsman with short clustering hair and thick neck. No. 10 from Cleonae is one of the earliest radiate heads which have come down to us. It represents Apollo as the sun-god, and the manner in which it looks directly out of the coin, a thing almost unknown in Greek Numismatics, may have a meaning as rendering the round form of the sun's disk. The same result is attained by a peculiar treatment of the head in profile, on the contemporary Rhodian coin, pl. x. 16. The helmeted head No. 11 and the three heads of Aphrodite, Nos. 16, 17, 18, are all from Corinth, and are of a beauty which is quite extraordinary considering their size. The smaller coins of Corinth furnish a gallery of beautiful female heads and different styles of coiffure in which we may see reflected the fashions which reigned among the Hetaerae of the city, the *demi-monde* of Greece. No. 19 also from Corinth gives us a playful, scarcely comic representation of Pegasus tied with a rope to the wall, and instinct with eagerness to be gone. The immortal steed on other Corinthian coins is drinking; in some, having a stone taken from his hoof. It is very seldom that such liberties are taken with a religious type; the only other instance that I can cite at the moment being the Agrigentine coin pl. vi. 34, but we can allow for the working of Corinthian levity. No. 20 from Sicyon offers one of the most unsatisfactory subjects of Greek art, the Chimaera, a creature still more clumsy and repugnant to the perfection of art than even centaurs and griffins. These hybrid monstrosities were adopted by Hellas from Asia; but never quite assimilated—except the Centaurs—to true Greek art. The Chimaera, 'prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera,' especially suffers from the wretched necessity of imposing a feeble and most superfluous goat on the middle of a lioness' back; and no skill in rendering the lioness can much mitigate the helplessness of the result.

VIII. 9, 12, 2, 10. X. 16. VIII. 11, 16, 17, 18. VIII. 19. VI. 34. VIII. 20.

We now reach some more types from Elis. In No. 21 the device, an eagle tearing a ram, is wrought into the circular form of a Greek buckler. No. 22 is a most spirited group, an eagle and a serpent in deadly conflict. No. 23 is a noble eagle's head, below which is a leaf; No. 24 a winged thunderbolt, No. 30 an eagle standing erect in a wreath of wild olive. Thunderbolt and eagle alike are the symbols of the Olympian Zeus, and the eagle tearing the prey, in especial, is the sign sent by him to those he favours; the sure presage of victory. In the eighth book of the Iliad Zeus is said to have sent to Agamemnon as a sign of his favour an eagle bearing a fawn in its claws. To two of these representations peculiar interest attaches because they bear on them a signature which may be that of an artist. The letters ΔA appear in the field of No. 22 and are engraved on the leaf on No. 23 though scarcely distinguishable on our plate.

VIII. 21. VIII. 22. VIII. 23. VIII. 24. 30. VIII. 22. VIII. 23.

As artists sometimes sign in the field, and hardly any but artists on a part of the type itself, the balance of probability seems to be in favour of our reading these two letters as the initials of the artist who engraved these two pieces. If so, the matter lies open to conjecture, and it is at least worth while to point out that at this period Daedalus of Sicyon was certainly employed at Olympia not only in erecting the trophy already mentioned, but in making statues of Olympian victors[1]. That Daedalus was the actual designer of these coins we cannot prove, but it is something more than a possibility, and the designs are, as eminent artists have assured me, by no means unworthy of so great a sculptor.

VIII. 28, 25. The coin of Messene, of which the two sides are represented under Nos. 28 and 25, is of importance. The head of Demeter on the obverse is in very high relief and one of the most massive and splendid effigies we have, though the type has nothing to make it a fit portrait of a matronly and sorrowing divinity. Rather it looks like a proud young beauty who has the world at her feet. And it would not help us were we to suppose that the head is not of Demeter but of her daughter Persephone, for the type suits her no better. The fact is that as Overbeck[2] has remarked, the heads of Demeter on coins do not bear the same character as those belonging to statues which have come down to us, and which embody far better the ideas which we naturally form of Demeter as a benevolent and matronly goddess. The reason of this discrepancy probably is that our statues, most of which belong to the maturity and decline of Greek art, were fully intended to be in consonance with the current myths which were the property of the whole Greek race, while coins on the other hand, being more local in their character, would often follow a special or local tradition which would differ in character from the general myths. This local character belonged in many places to the Chthonian goddesses, as we may learn from Pausanias; in Arcadia and other parts of Greece Demeter is not the deity of the Homeric hymn. And we may take the opportunity of remarking that coins frequently present a deity in more various lights than either sculpture or vases. Their Greece is the Greece mirrored in the pages of Pausanias, while the Greece of at all events the more usual sculptural remains is rather the Greece of poets and historians.

The figure of Zeus on the reverse of our Messenian coin is in an attitude which we have met before. He strides forward with a thunderbolt in one upraised hand, and an eagle perched on his advanced left arm. This attitude we
I. 1, 13. have noticed as given to Apollo, pl. I. 1, 13, and Poseidon, pl. I. 2, 14, 15, V.
I. 2, 14, 15. 5, VII. 2. To the latter deity it seems especially appropriate, the left arm being
V. 5. VII. 2. thrown forward to balance the weight of the trident in the right. Overbeck[3]

[1] For details see *Num. Chron.* 1879, p. 242.

[2] *Kunstmythologie*, III. p. 452.

[3] *Ibid.* III. p. 222.

thinks that it specially belongs to Poseidon as the opponent of giants[1], and was retained for him longer than for other deities. We find indeed a Zeus in the same attitude on late coins, such as that of Corinth, pl. VIII. 42, that of Messene, pl. XII. 47, those of Antiochus II. of Syria, and copper pieces of Athens. We may however cite in favour of the opinion of Overbeck the fact that the Zeus who appears in this attitude on coins is always a stiff figure of traditional and archaic pattern. Our present coin, No. 25, is almost the only instance in which the figure has not the spareness and rigidity of early art, and even here the fleshy proportions only of contemporary schools are introduced, the attitude is not altered from its traditional pose. On the other hand several of the figures of Poseidon, such as pl. V. 5, VII. 2, and especially pl. XII. 3, are rendered in full accordance with the state of contemporary art; are indeed full of swing and spirit. This certainly would look as if the die-cutters of later Greece had before their minds only archaic figures of the striding Zeus with outstretched arm, but knew of figures of freer style representing Poseidon in the same attitude. It has been supposed[2] that the figure on the coins of Messene, pl. VIII. 25, and XII. 47 is copied from the statue of Zeus Ithomaeus executed for the Messenians at Naupactus by Ageladas and set up[3] by them, not in their Acropolis, but in a house at the foot of the Acropolis hill, when they were restored to their own city by Epaminondas. The balance of opinion seems to be in favour of this theory. The design of the figure is such as would well suit the age of Ageladas, and the type is exactly repeated at periods two centuries apart. If so the coin on pl. VIII. would be an early instance of an intentional copy on coins which can be shewn to be taken from a definite work of art; a copy which does not indeed reproduce the proportions and contour of the original, but preserves faithfully its general attitude and attributes. On some coins of Messene, it should be observed, we have beside the figure of Zeus, the legend ΙΘΩΜ..., the commencement of his distinctive title.

VIII. 42. XII. 47. VIII. 25. V. 5. VII. 2. XII. 3. VIII. 25. XII. 47.

Of the coins of Crete and Cyrene, pl. IX., we speak under the next period. For to that period they mostly belong, though it is not easy to fix the exact limits of time within which they were current.

[1] More likely, merely as hunter of marine-monsters, see pl. V. 5, where the head of one is introduced.

[2] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* II. 12. There is a general opinion that the figure of Zeus by Ageladas was youthful: this however is not necessarily implied in the statements of ancient writers.

[3] Pausan. *Messen.* 33.

Asia Minor.

Passing then to Asia Minor, pl. x., we at once plunge into quite a new region of art. The coins of Italy, Sicily and Hellas during the present period are almost all beautiful and carefully executed. In Asia we find a greater mixture of good and bad, of beauty and barbarism. The reason is that already stated in the last chapter, that Asia Minor included not only the flourishing Greek cities of the coast, but semi-Greek populations like those of Lycia and Cyprus, and tracts of absolute barbarism. Thus on our plate beside the pure Hellenic art of Cyzicus and Rhodes and Chios we find the productions of the half-barbarians of Side and Aspendus, Nos. 6, 10, 11, and the struggling efforts of settlers on the borders of outer barbarism like the people of Trapezus in Pontus, No. 17. Yet it is clear from a general comparison of plates x. and iv. that in our present period the tide of influence is setting from west to east. Hellas has learned what Asia can teach and is already beginning to instruct her instructress. On pl. iv. we had coins of Greek cities which were in style quite Asiatic; on pl. x. we have money inscribed with Aramaic and Pamphylian characters which bears types of unmistakably Greek style. It would be hazardous to attempt to trace in the art of Asia the influence of any special Greek master or school; but probably Athens was the chief source of Hellenic influence to most parts of Asia. Prof. Brunn thinks that the Lycian who carved the Xanthian monument studied at Athens; and we know the extent in Asia of the Athenian maritime empire. In accordance with these data we may discern in the Pallas, No. 7, and the Zeus, No. 9, of our plate works which seem to recall the style of Pheidias and his pupils. And if a recent theory be well founded, No. 27, of which we shall speak in the next chapter, is a still more decided reminiscence of a work of Attic art. So too a large number of the types on Cyzicene staters can clearly be traced to an Attic source. But in spite of all western influence the art of Asia Minor still retains in a marked degree the decorative element. The forms of animals are still favourite subjects and still rendered in conventional style. And even in the case of the staters of Cyzicus, Nos. 1—5, though their subjects be very varied and their execution good, yet there is a tendency to sacrifice all propriety in order to adapt the shape of the type to the field, which makes those types resemble patterns rather than subjects; supplying a proof that even in flourishing Greek communities something of the old Asiatic leaven still worked. In considering them we must constantly make allowance for this tendency.

On No. 1 is a figure whom it is perhaps most reasonable to regard with M. Six[1] as Cecrops, the serpent-footed king of Attica, since it has none of the fierceness which marks the serpent-footed giants. In that case the tree which he grasps will not be a rough weapon of defence, but the olive of Athens. On No. 2 is a figure of Nike kneeling, the upper part of her body altogether bare. X. 1. X. 2. On No. 3 is a radiate figure of Helios holding two horses. This is a remarkable X. 3. group, especially for the way in which perspective is subordinated to the necessities of grouping. The artist evidently wished to represent Helios as advancing towards the spectator holding in each hand the bridle of a horse; and what he gives us is but a mannered rendering of this idea. On No. 4 we find a X. 4. reminiscence, a copy it can scarcely be called, of the celebrated Athenian group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, by Critius and Nesiotes, of which there is a copy at Naples. Of this group there is a more faithful rendering on late coins of Athens, pl. XV. 30. Comparing the two derivatives from the same original XV. 30. we may at once see how the present coin translates the group into the vigorous and free style of its own time, shaping the figures according to the Polycleitian canon, while in the Athenian coin there is a distinct attempt to reproduce, so far as limits of space allow, the real character of the original. On No. 5 we X. 5. have a kneeling archer holding an arrow which he is about to place on the string of his bow. This design is of a class very common at Cyzicus. It is noteworthy that in this city, alone among Greek mints, the types are borrowed from the beliefs and traditions of the most varied regions. We next reach several designs of less strictly Hellenic character. Nos. 6 and 7 are from Side X. 6, 7. in Pamphylia, an Aeolic colony of the coast, dedicated to the worship of Apollo and Pallas, both of which deities here appear. On later coins the Apollo of Side has a barbaric appearance, but here, on No. 6, he is Hellenic, and in fact X. 6. nearly resembles in attitude the Apollo of Metapontum pl. I. 16, and like him I. 16. holds lustral branch and bow, and stands at an altar. Unlike him however he wears a chlamys, and is accompanied by a raven, the bird of soothsaying. This close likeness between two coins struck at the two ends of the Hellenic world, and at different epochs of art, is instructive. On No. 7 appears a Pallas whose X. 7. stout proportions, with the manner in which her limbs appear through her dress, argue a somewhat early period. On her outstretched right hand is an owl, while her left rests on the rim of a shield, and the aegis covers her breast. This is a type of the goddess which recurs at a later time in Asia, see pl. XIV. 2, and was XIV. 2. probably not unusual in the case of statues. On No. 8, a coin issued by the X. 8. Satrap Tiribazus in Cilicia, we have a slightly Hellenized form of an Eastern deity, Ormazd, whom the Persians represented nearly in the same attitude and with the same attributes which belonged to the Assyrian Asshur. The reverse of the

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1877, p. 170.

X. 9. same piece, No. 9, bears a figure of the Hellenic Zeus standing with a himation over his shoulder and an eagle in his hand. In the Greek cities of Cilicia, Zeus was the chief object of worship; and we suppose that the city of Tiribazus' satrapy which issued the coin reserved the reverse of it for its own national deity, while conceding the obverse to that of the over-lord Tiribazus. This is scarcely an instance of syncretism in religion; rather it serves to shew how completely both a civic community and a ruler are embodied in and represented by their respective divinities.

X. 10, 11. Nos. 10 and 11, from Aspendus in Pamphylia, being accompanied by a barbarous legend, shew that agonistic types were not peculiar to the pure Hellenes. On No. 10 we have a slinger, the transparency of whose short chiton is most remarkable, and in No. 11 a pair of wrestlers, of whom each is trying to get a better grip of the other's arms as the first step towards victory. These figures are somewhat lean and of exaggerated muscle, resembling earlier coins of the real Greeks; the southern coast of Asia Minor being at this time especially

X. 12. backward in the development of art. In No. 12 from Celenderis appears a horseman alighting, a figure worthy of Tarentum, and entirely free from the stiffness

IV. 26. of the earlier instance of the type, pl. IV. 26. Very fine also is the Sphinx from

X. 13. Chios, No. 13, a figure combining in very bold design an archaic form of wing with a proud pose and a beautiful Greek head with hair rolled up close in the fashion of ordinary women, instead of hanging as usually in formal curls. The result justifies the artist's attempt, though he may fairly be accused of trying to put new wine into old bottles.

X. 14. No. 14 is quite one of the most noteworthy Greek heads in existence; the coin is from Colophon. That it is meant for a Persian is proved by the head-dress, which is the regular mitra of Persians and Phrygians. The expression is majestic in the extreme, dignity and the habit of command are written on the large regular features. This head is unlike any Greek ideal, not even like the head

VIII. 6. of Zeus, pl. VIII. 6, which for a moment it recalls. Is it then a portrait? It has sometimes been considered to be such. M. Waddington sees in it the head of King Artaxerxes Mnemon[1]. Mr Head[2], on the other hand, remarks the absence of the regal Persian crown, the turreted *kidaris*; and thinks that it must be meant for Pharnabazus. And certainly a similar head is found on coins bearing the name of Pharnabazus. But not on such only; many Persian satraps issue money bearing an effigy which if very inferior in style to the present yet resembles it in general character. I cannot think it possible that at a time when not even Dionysius of Sicily or the Macedonian kings ventured to put their portraits on coins, such a liberty would be taken in Asia by a mere satrap.

[1] *Mél. de Numism.* p. 96.

[2] *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, p. 50.

Surely such a venture would have cost him his post and his life. Nor indeed do we find in the present effigy anything individual; the type, though marked, is general and impersonal. On the reverse of the piece is the inscription ΒΑΣΙ; and this legend appears conclusively to shew that the head on the obverse is intended to represent the Great King. Yet it does not seem to be in any sense a portrait; it may be doubted if at the period true portraits existed. The Greek artist who executed the type, having probably small idea what the King really was like, simply tried to express his idea as to what a Persian king ought to be. And in this he has succeeded admirably. Noble birth is expressed in the type, as well as dignity and the habit of command. Perhaps there is something of languidness and haughtiness in the cast of features; but these were precisely characteristics of the Persian nobility among whom the artist would seek his models. But the head is in several respects unlike that of contemporary Greeks.

No. 15 is from Rhodes, and represents the Rhodian Apollo. It does not receive justice in the plate, owing to its high relief, yet our photograph gives an idea of the peculiar hardness and sharpness of the features, which remind us of the work of early Italian painters. The date must be about B.C. 400, shortly after the foundation of the city of Rhodes. It cannot possibly be earlier than 408 when that city was founded by Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. The head of the same deity occurs on No. 16, from the island Megiste, but here on a rayed disk, a simple and pleasing way of indicating a sun-god. This is perhaps the earliest of radiate heads; on later coins of Rhodes and the Syrian Kings the rays are attached to a fillet passing round the head; and later still, on Roman coins they appear like metal spikes, with very inferior fitness and beauty. No. 17, from Trapezus, represents a young male head, drawn somewhat coarsely; No. 18, from Cnidus, is a head of Aphrodite. This must be earlier than the statue of Praxiteles, and is probably copied from no image. It is also of hard and rough work, and though bold not equal in style to the lion's head on the reverse of the same coin, No. 20, which is of noble style, if somewhat mannered. On No. 19 is a bull from Cyprus between two oriental symbols, the winged disk and the crux ansata, a fair type of the art of Cyprus, always giving definite semi-Hellenic form to oriental ideas, yet without the innate force to form from these an original and consistent cycle of art, and so always repeating the same simple forms and not progressing. On No. 21 we have the rose, the symbol of the island of Rhodes, a good instance of Greek conventionalism in flowers, with a small sphinx seated beside it.

X. 15. X. 16. X. 17. X. 18. X. 20. X. 19. X. 21.

Copies of Statues.

On the xvth plate are a few late copies of statues by Pheidias and his con-
xv. 30. temporaries, besides that of the group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, No. 30. The
xv. 19. figure of the Olympic Zeus appears on a coin of Hadrian, No. 19, struck at Elis. As to this I have elsewhere[1] remarked that we find in it certain distinct departures from the usual stereotyped design which stands on coins of Alexander and the Seleucidae for the Olympian deity (pl. xv. 31), departures which indicate a decided intention to approach nearer to the Pheidian statue. With this object the artist threw the figure more correctly into profile by making the left arm project in front of the body and not behind it, as previous artists had done in a clumsy attempt at perspective. He also tried to improve the type of the head and represented the drapery falling from the left shoulder with greater clearness. In
xv. 18. No. 18 we have a similar attempt to portray the head of the Pheidian statue; of this we have already spoken in this chapter. Of the other great work of Pheidias, the Athene Parthenos, we have also some slight numismatic record in
xv. 22. pl. xv. 22. But here the discovery of statuettes has made our knowledge of the form of the statue so complete that coins add nothing to it. Of a head which may be copied from that of the Parthenos, pl. xii. 43, mention will be made in due place.

[1] *Coins of Elis*, p. 50.

CHAPTER V.

Period of finest art; late.

The period B.C. 371—335 was that during which Praxiteles and Scopas were at work, and their influence fast radiating through Greece. It can scarcely be expected that we should in this place attempt to give even an outline of the changes introduced by those great masters into Greek sculpture, or to detail the chief characteristics of their style. A dissertation of that sort is to be found in every book which attempts to give the history of Greek art as a whole; but it would be out of place in a piece of special work like the present. And it would be the more out of place because the character which attaches to the sculptures of Scopas and Praxiteles is only found in a modified form in numismatic art. The narrow limits of that art shut out for the most part any attempt at the pathetic or the dramatic; and give but moderate scope to the tendency to embody in form a more sensuous beauty. Moreover, though Scopas and Praxiteles no doubt controlled the main stream of Greek art, they did not control all the subordinate currents. There were other schools of art than theirs in the length and breadth of Hellas; and as our coins come from all parts, a large proportion of them were affected by the works of local masters of style rather than by Athenian sculptors; just as the tidal wave follows rather the nearer but smaller moon than the more distant but larger sun.

In fact the changes which we shall find in coins in this period are rather those produced by the general current of ancient art than those which recall the works of any particular school. The human figures will be of slighter proportions and more rounded outline, and the attitudes more graceful and less vigorous. Frequently they are seated on rocks and under trees amid natural scenes instead of in temples and on the formal thrones usual at earlier and later periods. In the heads we shall find greater variety, less severity of type, more care and more success in the rendering of details such as hair and eye. And besides, there is a great increase of expression. As however it is not easy or possible to introduce much expression into a head represented in profile the custom prevails of three-quarter-face representations of deities. It is evident that into a face thus represented far more character as well as more pathos can be intro-

duced. The custom took its rise apparently in Sicily; for some of the coins of Leontini and Camarina with full-face heads must date from the fifth century; but it soon spread to Hellas and Asia, and is very common during the whole time from B.C. 400 to the age of Philip, when it suddenly disappears. In the present period we also find greater freedom of treatment in the case of some animals, notably the horse.

These of course are but generalities; we shall soon come to details. Meanwhile I would direct those who wish at once to fix in their minds some idea of the style of the age, in particular to two series of coins. The first is the fine pieces issued in Peloponnese by cities in alliance with Epaminondas, and as the result of his memorable expedition against Spartan influence in these regions. These coins occupy most of the latter half of the VIIIth plate. The second is the remarkable set of gold staters issued at Lampsacus, probably about the time when the issue of Cyzicene electrum ceased in the middle of the 4th century. These will be found represented in our Xth plate by Nos. 24, 25, 38, 39, 40. Of both these series I shall speak in the proper place.

ITALY.

The coinage of Italy during the later fine period is not separated by any sharp line from that of the preceding age. Towards the middle of the fourth century the Greek cities of the South began to be hard pressed by the warlike inland tribes, but their destruction or subjugation was as yet staved off, and the day of Roman dominion had not come. So they still continued their plenteous issues of beautiful coins, which do not differ in type from those of previous
V. 28. times but are of freer and more advanced style. No. 28 of plate V. is a remarkable group from the gold coinage of Tarentum. It represents Poseidon seated on a throne, looking down on his son Taras, who stands before him with hands raised in petition. The attitude and dress of Poseidon are those usual in the case of Zeus; only he holds the trident in the place of a sceptre. The group well expresses the confidence of the Tarentines in their destiny to rule the sea; Taras is the darling of Poseidon, who can refuse him no request, and who places at his service alike the dolphin by sea and the horse by land. The same idea
V. 30, 31. inspires other coins of Tarentum in our plate. Thus on Nos. 30, 31 we see Taras riding with easy but firm seat on a dolphin, a figure of complete gracefulness. On Nos. 34 and 35 Taras or Phalanthus or perhaps a more modern cavalier of the Tarentines who had won renown sits on a horse. The Greeks used neither saddle nor stirrup; and our hero seems to need neither, so steady

and safe is his seat. In No. 35 the horse seems to be racing; in No. 34 he is being crowned by his rider with the wreath of victory. On No 36 the rider is armed for battle, carrying three spears and a large round shield. These few specimens must serve to represent the Tarentine coins with their inexhaustible variety and constantly changing beauty. V. 35. V. 34. V. 36.

On No. 29 we have a reposing Heracles, from Croton. In attitude the figure bears rather a close resemblance to the Heracles of the last period, No. 2; but there are differences which suit the times of the two coins. In the later representation the figure of Heracles has less of simple massiveness, the muscles of arms and chest are worked out in greater detail, and the attitude is nearer to lounging. The figure reminds us of the description of the statuette of Heracles made to place on the table of Alexander the Great, where the hero was seated on a rock over which his lion's skin was spread, was looking up, and held in one hand a wine-cup, in the other a club[1]. There is however a local element in the present representation, since we learn that when in Italy Heracles rested and refreshed himself in the house of Croton. V. 29. V. 2.

The gem-like delicacy of work makes this figure pleasing; other contemporary treatments of the subject are less successful; for instance that of pl. VI. No. 36, from the Sicilian Thermae, where the figure of Heracles has a weakness and rotundity which is most unsuitable to the hero. It would seem that in the time preceding Lysippus even the form of Heracles, most manly of all heroes, was in danger of undergoing the same softening which took place in the types of Apollo and Dionysus; but in this case the tendency met with a violent reaction, of which we see the fruit in the statue of Glycon. On No. 32 we have a spirited rendering of the contest of Heracles and the Nemean lion. Less sturdy and less upright than in No. 6, Heracles seems to bend over the lion; but the tension of his muscles is splendidly rendered, and on the whole this group deserves its wide reputation. Not less charming is the figure of Nike, No. 33, from Terina, who stands with raised foot placed on a cippus. As a study of drapery this work may compare with the contemporary statuettes from Tanagra, and indeed with the beautiful figure in a somewhat similar position in the relief from the balustrade of the temple of Nike Apteros. VI. 36. V. 32. V. 6. V. 33.

Nos. 37 to 39 are all from the coins struck in Italy by Alexander of Epirus, and therefore of known date. They represent the head of the Dodonaean Zeus, ancestral deity of the Molossian Kings, who is distinguished from other forms of Zeus by wearing a wreath of oak, the sacred tree of Dodona. No. 37 is one of our noblest heads of Zeus, simple and dignified, with faultless features, and hair represented with consummate art and not too great subtlety of detail. The close likeness in style between this head and that of Hera, No. V. 37—39. V. 37.

[1] Martial, IX. 44.

V. 45, 38. 45, seem to indicate a Tarentine origin for it. No. 38 far more nearly resembles the head of Zeus on coins of Philip of Macedon, which is in its turn closely similar to the heads of bearded citizens on the frieze of the Parthenon and Athenian sepulchral reliefs. It is the thoroughly typical Greek head which became stereotyped in art. I do not here discern the prophetic look attributed
V. 39. by Overbeck to the Zeus of this set of coins. In No. 39 on the other hand we have something entirely peculiar and distinctive. This head with short sparse beard and long mane-like hair, is almost unique, the nearest to it among effigies
XII. 17. occurring on coins of Thessaly, for instance pl. XII. 17. Are its peculiarities due to the influence of a school of art belonging to northern Greece? This is possible, and although it is probable that the silver coins of the Epirote King were struck in Italy, yet this piece may be an exception, or it may be the work of an Epirote artist. But whoever is the author, he shews the influence of the school of Lysippus; the leonine brow and hair sufficiently prove this; and the coin might perhaps better have been relegated to the next period, to which in historical strictness it probably belongs. Distinctly earlier in character is the laurel-
V. 40. crowned head of Zeus from Metapontum, No. 40, which is indeed by no means
V. 16. free from archaism, and may fitly be compared with the head of Apollo, No. 16.

V. 41. We have next several heads which face the spectator. On No. 41 is a head of Pallas from Velia, signed on the front of the helmet by the artist Cleodorus.
V. 42, 43. Nos. 42 from Pandosia and 43 from Croton represent the Lacinian Hera, a warlike deity who was represented as armed, who loved sacrifices of cows, and whose temple on the Lacinian Promontory was a centre of religious observance in Bruttium, and whose effigy appears at this period on the coins of many cities round. It is noteworthy that this head almost always faces the spectator,
VI. 39. an exception occurring only in Sicily, pl. VI. 39; but whether there is a special reason for this we cannot say. This type of head for Hera is apparently unknown in sculpture[1]. We are probably justified on numismatic evidence in supposing that the Lacinian Hera, like her namesake at Argos, wore a tall circular stephanos on her head, which may have been adorned, as on the coins,
V. 44. with griffins: but further than this it is not safe to go. On No. 44 we have a head of Pallas from Thurium, in which the features are very regular and the details of the helmet faultless; yet the work stands in originality and beauty
V. 17, 18, 45. far below the heads of the earlier period, Nos. 17, 18. Finally, in No. 45 we have a head of Hera or perhaps of Amphitrite from Tarentum of the richest style. About this what is most notable is the veil of the goddess, which appears in evanescent shape. These matronly goddesses had a special right to the veil, but the artist of our coin did not choose to sacrifice to it the beauty of his design, so that it is hinted at rather than portrayed.

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* III. 106.

Sicily.

The coinage of Sicily during our period will not long detain us. It is represented by a few specimens at the bottom of plate VI. Before the year B.C. 371 almost all the great cities of Sicily had either been destroyed or had become mere dependencies of Syracuse. But like Pharaoh's lean kine Syracuse did not grow by their accession, but pined away the more, so that when Timoleon landed at Syracuse in B.C. 344 he found grass growing in the market-place, and the city suffering extreme poverty. The era of Dionysius, B.C. 406—367, was no doubt a time of far greater prosperity, and it is to this period that the most splendid coins of Syracuse, including the celebrated decadrachms, are attributed. I have considered, to suit our convenience, that the finest series of Syracusan coins was issued before B.C. 371, and so included it in the last period, although some specimens, such as 21—23 of plate VI., may have been struck as late as the reign of the son and successor of Dionysius. But as the legend on all these pieces is the same, Συρακοσίων, it is not possible to make a division of them into two classes to suit our periods. VI. 21—23.

The only coins of Syracuse which I have ventured to place within our period are Nos. 35, 37, 40. On 35 we have a charging figure of Leucaspis, the same hero who appears above on No. 5. But in the later coin the vigour and energy which marked the warrior in the earlier type have disappeared and given way to weakness. On No. 35 the slight figure of Leucaspis seems to bend under the weight of his shield, though the engraver has most carefully finished the group which he was unable to endow with spirit. No. 40 represents the obverse of this coin, a head of Pallas closely resembling that signed by the artist Eucleides, and either the work of that artist or else, which is far more probable, the production of some feeble copyist of his. Although the work is pretty and very minute, it lacks energy and originality. No. 37 belongs to the age of Timoleon; it bears a head of Zeus Eleutherius, whose worship the Syracusans adopted in B.C. 466 in memory of their liberation from the despotic tyranny of Thrasybulus, brother of Gelon. It is of fine type, in style well suiting the period between the prevalence of the majestic head of early times and the more passionate and leonine type introduced about the middle of the fourth century. Short hair belongs to heads of Zeus especially about this period, cf. pl. v. 14. VI. 35, 37, 40. VI. 5. VI. 35. VI. 40. VI. 37. V. 14.

On No. 36, from the Himeraean Thermae, we have a decidedly feeble figure of Heracles, of which I have already spoken. On the obverse of this piece, No. VI. 36.

VI. 39. 39, is a head of Hera which seems to represent the goddess in her character of VIII. 40. Lacinia, though it is almost as closely like the head from Argos, pl. VIII. 40. VI. 38. On No. 38 we find a head of the river-god Gelas, with the horns of a bull. The type of this deity follows in its changes the current effigies of Zeus. We have noticed this fact at an early period, and now again observe it. Save in treatment of hair our present head recalls that of Zeus on Epirote coins, pl. V. V. 39. 39. There is little here, as elsewhere in the representations of Gelas, of animal nature and brute force. The Sicilian Greeks not only venerated rivers but seemed to have formed a lofty idea of their divinity, and their artists are persistent save in the earliest times in attributing to them noble forms of head and thoroughly human expression.

Northern Greece.

The coins of Northern and Central Greece which belong to our period are represented on the lower half of plate VII. It is remarkable that few of them bear types of much importance, scarcely any exhibit human figures or types of the gods of mythological interest.

VII. 43. Instructive from the point of view of style is the coin of Locri, No. 43, VII. 22. which represents the hero Ajax charging at a run. Comparing this with the earlier instance of the same type, No. 22, we see what an extraordinary change in the proportions of the human frame had taken place in sculpture between the days of Polycleitus and those of Lysippus. The spare and muscular frame of Ajax, and the smallness of his head on our present coin recall the figures on the Mausoleum frieze. A more modern touch too is the spear which has been hurled at the hero by a foeman and struck the ground at his feet. Still more interesting is the coin of the Amphictionic League, of which the obverse appears VII. 47, 44. as No. 47 and the reverse as No. 44. The occasion when this piece was minted is obscure, but the time must have been nearly that of the Sacred War in the middle of the fourth century. We have already spoken of the coin from the historical point of view; but it is also important as a work of art. VII. 47. The head of Demeter, No. 47, departs far from the ordinary coin-representations, VIII. 28, 41. most of which, e.g. pl. VIII. 28, 41, and VII. 46, seem imitated from Syracusan VII. 46. coins, and convey to our minds nothing of the distinctive character of the sorrowing and motherly goddess. In the present coin, though we cannot profess to trace sorrow in the face of the goddess we see there a mature sweetness and dignity which are very appropriate. When we reach the coins of Asia, we X. 41. shall find in pl. X. 41 another head worthy of a place beside this; but in

general Demeter does not appear to advantage on coins. We may here notice, as belonging to her cycle, the coin of Eleusis, Nos. 45, 48. No. 45 represents VII. 45,48. Triptolemus in his winged chariot drawn by serpents passing through the lands to distribute the gifts of agriculture, a favourite subject on vases. It is Triptolemus, not Demeter, for the figure is clearly masculine and not feminine as some have imagined[1]; although there do exist exceptional coins of Eleusis in which appears a female figure in this winged car. On No. 48 is the pig of Demeter VII. 48. standing on her torch, in double allusion to the great mysteries. To return however to our Amphictionic coin; on the reverse, No. 44, is Apollo seated on VII. 44. the omphalos, the mystic centre of the world which existed in the Delphian temple, and surrounded by Delphic symbols. He is clad in the chiton, with long sleeves and waist girt-in, which specially belonged to the Citharoedus, and which he wears on what are supposed to be copies of Scopas' statue, the Apollo Palatinus. One elbow rests on his lyre as he leans in the attitude of meditation, perhaps looking into the future with eyes of prophecy; in one hand he holds a laurel bough. A tripod in the background still more clearly indicates that Delphi is the scene portrayed on the coin.

On this coin the hair of Apollo falls in long tresses as in the head on the coin of Olynthus, No. 28. This type seems to belong to a later time than the VII. 28. beautiful Apollo-heads from the same city figured above, Nos. 12, 13; and we may consider that the coin was probably struck shortly before the complete suppression of the Olynthian League by Philip. There is a want of force about this head, and in the style of the hair we see a gradual return to the old-fashioned ideas which later again prevailed, as in pl. XIII., No. 25, and generally. XIII. 25. On No. 29, struck by Philip of Macedon, and No. 33 from Cierium in Thessaly VII. 29,33. we have two heads of Zeus of fine but somewhat conventional type. To judge by the bearded heads on the frieze of the Parthenon, the Zeus-head on Philip's coins would seem to have something of the style of Pheidias about it. And in this view it is noteworthy that Philip distinctly intended this head to stand for that of the Zeus of Olympia, whom contrary to the customs of his fathers he claimed as patron deity. These considerations may serve to arouse an interest in our coin as possibly bearing an affinity to the great masterpiece of Pheidias, but they will not bear pressing. No. 30, also from Philip's coin, is a head which VII. 30. has roused much discussion. It has usually been called either an Apollo or a Heracles; but neither of these attributions is satisfactory. Apollo, when occurring unmistakeably on Philip's coin, has long hair; and the present head is too round and thick-set to suit the idea of Apollo. And Heracles on the Macedonian money wears the lion's skin, both on coins of princes who preceded Philip, as Perdiccas

[1] Stephani, *Comptes Rendus*, 1859, p. 87. Köhler, *Mitth. d. D. Inst. in Athen*, Vol. IV.

VII. 32. XII. 15. III., No. 32, and on coins of Alexander the Great, pl. XII. 15. It seems then more probable, as I have tried to prove elsewhere[1] that the present head belongs rather to the Macedonian sun-god Ares. There was a celebrated statue of this deity by Alcamenes, and just to the time of Philip must belong the colossal statue of Ares by Scopas in seated attitude. The chief argument for the attribution is that on the coins of the Sicilian Mamertines a head just like it, also laureate, bears the full inscription ΑΡΕΟΣ, and this seems a valid reason in favour of the theory. If it be accepted, we must probably also give the name VII. 31. of Ares to the head on No. 31 from Phalanna in Thessaly, which is of similar type: but our probability cannot be raised to the rank of a certainty because the rounded head with short curly hair seems to be usual at the period for various deities, as for instance for Hermes in the great statue of Praxiteles.

One of the most remarkable remains of ancient art is the coin of Pantica- VII. 34, 42. paeum, Nos. 34 and 42. The excavation of Crimean graves has revealed to us the fact that art flourished in that region in the fourth century B.C., and further that the ideas of art were borrowed especially from Athens, between which city and the northern shore of the Euxine continual intercourse was kept up. Certainly none but a Greek artist of the best school could have engraved the head VII. 34. of Pan, No. 34, a head expressing in fullest degree the terrible and the bestial sides of the god's nature. And the rough material whence the type was formed is easily discerned. The pointed ears of the god are an artistic addition, but his rough hair and rugged features are clearly derived from a Scythian original; as anyone may convince himself by studying the figures of Scythians on the celebrated electrum vase of the Hermitage[2]. In the same way the monetary artists of Olbia in Sarmatia give a Scythian cast on their coins to the features of the river-god Borysthenes[3]. The wonderful griffin on the reverse of our VII. 42. piece, No. 42, is of Persian and Oriental rather than Greek type, having the head of a horned lion in place of that of an eagle. Similar representations will be found on vases from the Crimea[4], but rarely elsewhere.

VII. 35. On No. 35 from Larissa is a nymph-head facing, which nearly resembles VI. 22. the Syracusan full-face head of Arethusa by Cimon, pl. VI. 22. It is difficult to say whether resemblances of this sort indicate closer connexion than contemporaneity. It should be noticed however that the coin of Larissa is a specimen of a very large class, all bearing full-face heads of Nymphs, and differing one from the other in many small ways. And even in the remote region of Cilicia X. 46. we have nymph-heads such as pl. X. 46 which are of very similar character. On the other hand the coins of Syracuse certainly had a wide circulation, and were widely imitated. The money of Carthage in the fourth century is closely

[1] *Numism. Chron.* 1880, p. 52.
[2] *Antiq. du Bosph. Cimmér.* pl. XXXIII.
[3] *Cat. Gr. Coins*, Thrace, p. 12.
[4] *Antiq. du Bosph. Cimmér.* pl. XLVI.

copied from them. And we can scarcely think that heads of Persephone or Demeter such as No. 46 on this plate from Locri or No. 41 on pl. VIII. from Pheneus in Arcadia are entirely unconnected in origin with the large class of perfectly similar heads on the coins of Syracuse. Both of the pieces just mentioned might almost pass as specimens of the work of the Syracusan engraver Euaenetus. But in our full-face coin, No. 35, there is a distinctive tone of non-Sicilian art, indeed there is a simplicity about it which makes it on the whole superior to the coins of Sicily. We may conclude then that even if the general scheme of the full-faced nymph-head be borrowed from the work of Cimon, the artists of other parts of Greece copied it in their own several styles, accepting it not as a model but only as a suggestion. VII. 46. VIII. 41.

On No. 36 we have a head of the goddess Hecate from Pherae in Thessaly, on a coin of the tyrant Alexander. In front of the head is a torch grasped by a small hand; an adjunct more in the taste of Roman and Italian than Greek art, and apparently inserted only to shew that the head is of Hecate, the special goddess of Pherae. On 37 is a head of Artemis facing from Orthagoria or Stageira of the time of Philip of Macedon. On Nos. 38 and 39 are two agonistic types of Philip of Macedon, a biga and a *keles* or single horse. In both the allusion is to victories at Olympia gained by Philip, who specially affected the worship of the Olympian Zeus, and spared no pains or money to gain a firm hold on the ruling bodies of Olympia, Delphi and other seats of the great games. It is well known that from the gold staters of Philip, Nos. 30, 38, were derived the types of the coins used by Gauls and Britons for centuries. We may fairly be surprised to find, at so good a period for art as that of Philip, anything so monstrously exaggerated as is the figure of the horse on No. 39. Not only is he ridiculously large in comparison to his jockey, but of such heavy proportions that he certainly could never have won any race. The whole group must be regarded as a clumsy attempt to flatter the pride of Philip—the coin was struck at Pella—by giving unnatural proportions to his horse. Earlier on Macedonian coins, as Nos. 4, 5, the rider is large in proportion to the horse, in accordance with the well-known rule of Greek art to give greater size to the more dignified object; and it may be that a perverse interpretation of the same rule made the engraver of the later coin increase the size of the royal horse, and diminish that of the jockey, who would receive small share of the praise. An infinitely better engraved horse comes next on No. 40 from Larissa in Thessaly, the work of a man who loved horses for their own sakes. On No. 41 is a conventional or architectonic lion's head from the coinage of Alexander of Pherae. VII. 36. VII. 37. VII. 38, 39. VII. 30, 38. VII. 39. VII. 4, 5 VII. 40. VII. 41.

Peloponnesus.

We turn next to the last two rows of pl. VIII., where will be found Peloponnesian coins of the middle of the fourth century. And first we may state the fact—a fact, however it may be explained—that in Peloponnese and Crete we do not find at this period the greater attenuation of the human figure which we can so clearly trace in the contemporary coins of Sicily and Italy, as well as at Locri in northern Hellas, pl. VII. 22, 43. The forms in the Peloponnesian class are singularly robust, with a few exceptions, such as No. 36, and are nearer to the canon of Polycleitus than that of Euphranor or Lysippus.

History enables us to date with some closeness this class of coins. In the year B.C. 370 Epaminondas made his celebrated invasion of Peloponnese, which was no hasty incursion, but a political move of the greatest importance, and taken with full deliberation. The object of Epaminondas was to raise up on the very borders of the Laconian territory neighbours who should be hostile to Sparta, and restrain her from again venturing to exercise authority in northern Greece. His two chief movements to this end were the re-establishment of the Messenians at Ithome, and the formation of an Arcadian federation with Megalopolis as chief city. The Arcadian league however soon broke up in consequence of internal dissensions. It has for some time been the general opinion of numismatists that we may attribute to the time which followed the invasion of Epaminondas the series of fine didrachms which at about this period make their appearance in Peloponnese. In the case of the coin of Messene, Nos. 25, 28, and that of Arcadia, Nos. 32, 37, we can be sure that they could not be issued at an earlier time, for the political bodies which struck them did not exist; on the other hand to place them much later is out of the question. The coin of Elis[1], Nos. 26, 27, probably belongs to the time of the Arcadian attack upon Olympia in the 104th Olympiad. In the case, however, of the coins of Arcadian cities such as Stymphalus, Nos. 34, 38, 44, and Pheneus, Nos. 31, 41, it may be doubted whether they were minted just before the foundation of the Arcadian league, or during its existence; but the similarity of their style to that of the pieces of fixed date shews that our temporal assignment cannot be far wrong. All these coins, though not wanting in freedom, yet preserve something of the stateliness which belongs properly to the period of early fine art. The Arcadians were a conservative race; and their art did not move rapidly; nor was its decay

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1879, p. 247.

hastened as in northern Greece by the growing political disorganization, and the rise of despots like Alexander of Pherae and Philip of Macedon.

On No. 31 we have a group quite characteristic of the age of Praxiteles. VIII. 31. The coin is from Pheneus, and the type Hermes carrying an infant who is identified by an inscription behind him as Arcas, the mythical ancestor of the Arcadian race. On the death of Callisto, mother of Arcas, Hermes, by command of Zeus, carried the child to Maia his own mother to bring up. On this mission Hermes is actively engaged in our representation. The child seems to see something which attracts him on the head or petasus of Hermes, and stretches his hand to grasp it; a motive which at once reminds us of Praxiteles' great group of Hermes and the child Dionysus. At the point of motive however the likeness between the two groups stops; the design we are discussing being fitted only for relief and not for sculpture in the round. On No. 32 we have young VIII. 32. Pan the hunter seated on a mountain, holding in his hand the knotted *lagobolon*. The letters ΟΛΥ below were formerly supposed to stand for 'Olympus' and to shew that the scene was laid on that great Arcadian mountain, but the occurrence of other specimens with another legend, leads us to doubt this interpretation. Perhaps we may venture with more probability to see in the letters an artist's name[1], and if so it is not at all impossible that the engraver may have been Olympus of Sicyon, a sculptor of this period, who is however known to us by little more than his name. We may presume however that he was a disciple of Polycleitus, and we know that he made statues of athletes[2], and in both these respects resembled the engraver of our figure of Pan, which is for its size a wonderful study of the human frame.

On No. 33 we have a seated Apollo from Zacynthus. The god is not en- VIII. 33. throned, and so no temple-statue, but is seated on a hill, and lays his hand on the head of a snake, just as Asclepius does at Epidaurus pl. XII. 21. This is an XII. 21. interesting local rendering of Apollo, rather than a young Asclepius, for there is nothing in the type to indicate the deity of medicine. Figures seated on rocks especially belong to this period though they do occur in others. We may compare pl. V. 29 and VI. 36, as well as No. 36 of our present plate, which offers us a V. 29. VI. 36. figure of Hermes from Pheneus. It should be observed that the two coins from VIII. 36. Pheneus, of which the reverses figure in Nos. 31 and 36 are nearly contemporary, VIII. 31, 36. as is shewn by the similarity of style of their obverse types, two heads of Persephone, of which one is reproduced under No. 41. Yet they differ very VIII. 41. widely in their methods of representing the human frame. On No. 34 we have VIII. 34. a picture of one of the battles of Heracles, from Stymphalus. It would appear that the invisible enemy of the hero is the Stymphalian birds, for the types of

[1] Brunn, II. p. 437.

[2] Pausan. VI. 3. 5. Cf. Brunn, I. 292.

Stymphalus naturally refer to this exploit. On No. 44, for instance, we have the head of one of these birds from a Stymphalian coin, emerging from amid leaves and plants. It is notorious too that figures of the Stymphalian birds were set up in the temple of Artemis[1] the guardian deity of the place, of whom we have a noble effigy on No. 38. If however Heracles is attacking these birds his action can scarcely be termed well-chosen, a bow and arrows being the natural weapons wherewith to attack them and not the club. Elsewhere, as on the coins of Lamia in Thessaly, Heracles does during this action use his bow, and so usually on other classes of monuments. But if we waive this objection we must allow that the design is very fine. Heracles is not the burly middle-aged pancratiast of the school of Lysippus, but young; in his frame strength and activity are happily joined. On No. 35, from Argos, we have the scene of the carrying off of the Trojan Palladium by Diomede. The hero's attitude well expresses the mixture of caution in movement and readiness to meet the foe which his expedition demanded, and which so well suited the character of Diomede. The figure of the goddess is merely the conventional Pallas of early times, cf. pl. XI. 22; XII. 36; XV. 17; a kind of statue which existed in many Greek cities, giving rise to various traditions as to the history of the Trojan simulacrum. But the statue which existed in historical Ilium, and which bears every mark of great antiquity, was of quite another form, cf. pl. XV. 13. This last, of colossal size, is the statue naively described by Apollodorus[2] as the real Palladium of Ilium which fell from heaven.

VIII. 44. VIII. 38. VIII. 35. XI. 22. XII. 36. XV. 17. XV. 13.

Among the heads of the period one of the most important is that of Zeus from Arcadia, No. 37. It would be most desirable, if it were possible, closely to fix the date of this head; for this is the first appearance on coins of the type of Zeus which afterwards became prevalent and almost universal, the type with flowing hair streaming backwards, leonine brow, and an expression of command mixed with vigour. Unfortunately, our determination of date can only be approximate. The coin cannot have been issued earlier than the establishment of the Arcadian league, when Epaminondas invaded Peloponnese in B. C. 370; and it must in all probability precede the reign of Alexander the Great. The reverse side of it, No. 32, is of the style of the middle of the fourth century. More closely than this we cannot fix the date of our coin, but it seems probable that the influence predominant with its engraver was that of the school of Lysippus. All Zeus-heads on later coins, at least in Greece proper, adhere closely to this type, cf. pl. XII. 14, 25.

VIII. 37. VIII. 32. XII. 14, 25.

The female heads though with less of severe beauty than those of the last period are still very fine and of most careful finish. On No. 38 is the head of

VIII. 38.

[1] Pausan. VIII. 22. 7.

[2] III. 12. 3.

the Arcadian Artemis from Stymphalus, an early instance of the style of hair-dressing which later became usual for that goddess, pl. XIII. 13, 24, 29. But in the present case the head of Artemis has not that girlish lightness, that maiden freedom from care which we suppose to be characteristic of Artemis. For this there may be reasons, among others perhaps the fact that at Stymphalus Artemis was Limnatis, a goddess of lake and stream rather than a huntress. Two heads of Hera, from Elis and Argos respectively occur as Nos. 39 and 40. The former may be compared with No. 15, above; the latter with No. 14, and in each case we shall see the same change in the coin of later period, a shorter and less majestic profile, more care and elaboration in hair and ornaments. A great elaboration of the earring, I may remark, is an almost infallible indication of a period later than the fifth century. But these later heads of Hera approach no nearer to the recognized ideal of the goddess than the earlier ones, and in spite of their beauty of detail do not satisfy us with meaning. Of the head of Demeter, No. 41, I have lately spoken in connexion with the very similar head on the coin of Locri, pl. VII. 46. The Demeter of Pheneus was called Eleusinia and closely connected with the mysteries, but we find small trace of this connexion in the head before us. The two heads of the Corinthian goddess on Nos. 42, 43 have something of the beauty which, as Mr Ruskin has well remarked, is the distinguishing quality of the Corinthian coin at all periods.

XIII. 13, 24, 29. VIII. 39, 40. VIII. 15, 14. VIII. 41. VII. 46. VIII. 42, 43.

But the coins are here figured more particularly for the sake of the adjunct in each case. The adjuncts or symbols on Corinthian money are very various, and in many cases works of the greatest interest and beauty. A young collector could scarcely do better than search out the varieties of these coins, which are of small money value, and have never been thoroughly investigated. On No. 42, in the field, is an archaic statue of Zeus, nearly resembling the Zeus of Ithome, No. 25, omitting his eagle, and the Zeus on the late coins of Athens. This figure, in spite of its small size, presents us clearly with the characteristics of early art; and if the coin be really of an older date than Alexander's, is one of the first instances of the deliberate copy of a statue to be found in numismatics. On No. 43 is a beautiful figure of Hermes seated on a bucranium and nursing his knee, a design which looks like a copy of a statue or picture; and somewhat free for our period.

VIII. 42. VIII. 25. VIII. 43.

The head of the Stymphalian bird on No. 44 emerges from the water-plants or sedge amid which he is supposed to be hiding. This bird, as usually on sarcophagi and gems is little better than a goose, and has nothing at all terrible about him; he is in fact, as Pausanias remarks, in most respects like an ibis, 'but with beak stronger and not curved like that of an ibis[1].'

VIII. 44.

[1] Pausan. VIII. 22. 5.

Crete.

Plate IX. contains, I think, some matter which will be new to archaeological students. Nos. 1—25 are all from Crete, Nos. 26—36 from Cyrene.

I have not ventured so minutely to subdivide the coins of Crete under periods as the coins of other parts of Hellas. Those on our plate are assigned roughly to the period B.C. 431—300. The reasons for giving wider limits in this case are two, one historical, and one artistic. The historical reason is this, that the accession of Alexander is not in Crete so important as a historical landmark as it is in Asia or even Hellas. We have no reason to think that the issues of Cretan coins at once felt the influence of his dominion. And the artistic reason, which is still more important, is this:—that there are in Cretan coins curious and exceptional elements, partly barbarous, and partly only local, which prevent us from assigning to specimens with much confidence a date within narrow limits. In fact but for the very fortunate adoption by some Cretan cities of the custom of using as blanks for their coins the issues of other districts we should often be somewhat at a loss to assign a date to the issues. But relying on this and other evidence we may go so far as to say that few, if any, of the coins on our plate mount to a higher date than B.C. 400; and that the large majority of them are contemporary with the Peloponnesian coins which we connect with the time of Epaminondas, that is, belong about to the middle of the fourth century. The heads Nos. 21—23 may be rather later and date from the latter part of that century.

There is undoubtedly in the Cretan coins much that is peculiar. To begin with, full-length figures of deities are commoner here than elsewhere, and the types are sometimes very singular and unexpected. For instance in our Nos. 15—20 we have a series of deities seated in trees, a class of representations almost peculiar to the island. Some of the personages on our plate are quite foreign to Hellenic mythology, such as Talos, Velchanus and Ptolioecus; others appear with unusual attributes. And even in the style of execution there is much which surprises, and on which critics have variously commented. According to Mr Poole[1] the art of the coins of Crete is essentially realistic. 'Its want of force is relieved by its love of nature. It excels in the portrayal of animal and vegetable subjects and delights in perspective and foreshortening.' With regard to the coins of Gortyna, Helbig[2] remarks that the introduction of the

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1864, p. 240.

[2] *Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 286.

tree into them is an instance of the feeling for nature which specially marked the period after Alexander's death; placing them decidedly too late, for a specimen in the British Museum is restruck on a coin of Cnossus with incuse reverse. Otto Jahn[1] has devoted to them part of an able paper, in which he shews how much they are affected by a somewhat crude local nature-worship. We might venture to affirm that there is almost always in Cretan coins a substratum of barbarism; but this is penetrated and made interesting by a certain boldness and originality of design, and by a naive reproduction of nature which sometimes even puts the Cretan artists in advance of those of the rest of Greece in matters of grouping and perspective.

On No. 1, from Itanus, we have a figure with fish's tail, striking with a trident. We may doubt by what name the engraver of this coin would have called it. Possibly Triton, or more probably Glaucus, who was called the son of Minos[2] and so might well be represented on Cretan coins. Triton is thus represented in early art, as on the reliefs from Assus; it is however more than probable that the deity of Itanus is the direct representative of a Phoenician sea-god of the Dagon class, worshipped in early times at Itanus[3]. The retention of the barbarous form of an oriental deity is not usual among Greeks; such form is generally made pleasing and human; we should have expected the form of Poseidon rather than such a monster as this; but even here there is a great improvement on genuine Phoenician representations of Dagon. On No. 2 we have a Poseidon, naked to the waist, holding dolphin and trident, from Priansus. Overbeck[4] remarks that the god here assumes the attitude of Zeus; and that this is true we may see on comparing the figures of Zeus, below No. 33, pl. x. 9, &c., though the position of the left hand is different. The same attitude belongs however to Dionysus, pl. XIII. 2, and other deities: we cannot be sure that Poseidon was thus represented in statues. The same deity, on No. 3 from Rhaucus, appears as Hippius, leading not riding his sacred horse, as he did on the early coin of Potidaea, pl. III. 3. On No. 4 from Sybritia we have a seated figure of Dionysus, a fine type, but by no means expressive of the character of the god, at least as embodied in later art. For with the present figure we need but make a change of attributes, substitute an eagle for the wine-cup and a sceptre for the thyrsus to have an appropriate representation of Zeus, cf. No. 31 below. In this we may perhaps see oriental influence. As we have already observed the figures of Zeus and Dionysus were assimilated in some parts of the Asiatic coast; thus the deity of Tarsus figured under pl. x., No. 30, who was probably in origin a Phoenician Baal, might be termed

IX. 1.

IX. 2.

IX. 33. X. 9. XIII. 2.

IX. 3.

III. 3. IX. 4.

IX. 31.

X. 30.

[1] *Vienna Acad. Phil. Hist. Clas.* Vol. XIX.

[2] Athenaeus XII. 24.

[3] See Hoeck, *Kreta* I. p. 17.

[4] *Arch. d. Kunst.* III. 295.

Dionysus in virtue of the grapes and corn which he holds, though writers apply to him the name Zeus. We need not however press this explanation, as it is not unusual in Crete to find one deity in the pose elsewhere reserved for another. This no doubt arises from the untrained and imitative character of Cretan art. In Crete we find not unusually mere slavish copies of coins of Sicily and of Peloponnesus, and from this the transfer of pose and type from one deity to another is not far removed. It is however not impossible that if we had a copy of the seated Dionysus Lenaeus erected by Alcamenes at Athens
IX. 5. we should find it to be not entirely unlike the figure on our coin[1]. On No. 5 from Priansus we have a female deity seated under a palm-tree and laying her hand on the head of a serpent. There was at Leben near Priansus a great temple of Asclepius; we may perhaps therefore feel justified in calling this figure Hygieia the daughter of the god of healing, who here seems to be somewhat akin to the great nature-goddesses of Asia Minor. If so this figure and the head of Hygieia on coins of Metapontum[2] are among the earliest representations of the goddess extant. But another explanation of the type seems at least equally plausible. Zagreus the Cretan chthonic form of Dionysus was variously represented as the husband of Persephone or as her son by Zeus, who appeared to the earth-goddess in the form of a serpent. On a coin of Selinus in Sicily[3] we have a type which probably refers to the legend in its last-mentioned form. Certainly it would be in no way contrary to the analogy of Cretan coins to see in the seated goddess Persephone, and in the snake which approaches her an embodiment of Zeus. And though the figures of Dionysus on Cretan coins are not usually chthonic, yet we know that the myth of Zagreus was at home in the island. There is in the British Museum a marble relief[4] which may well be compared with the present type. It represents a veiled deity, wearing a *polus* on her head, seated on a four-legged stool; in one hand she holds a leaf-shaped fan, in the other a patera from which a snake feeds. The work is rude but apparently not late. In the description in the *Museum Marbles* the figure is identified as 'Hygeia,' but it may here also be doubted whether we have not one of those votive reliefs to the nether deities of which so many have been found in various parts of Greece; and whether the goddess be not really Persephone.

IX. 6. On No. 6 we have another Dionysus from Sybritia, but of a very different type, a youth seated on a galloping panther. This figure is certainly of a later date, perhaps nearly a century later, and belongs to the cycle of later Greek

[1] Indeed the small figure on Athenian coins, supposed by Beulé to be a copy of the statue by Alcamenes, is closely like that on these Cretan coins.

[2] *Br. Mus. Cat. Italy*, p. 245.

[3] *Cat. Sicily*, p. 142.

[4] *Museum Marbles*, Part 9, Pl. XXXVIII. p. 174.

mythology, when the worship of Dionysus changed its character during the fourth century, and especially in Alexander's time under the revival of Asiatic influence and became more enthusiastic and uncontrolled. From the deity of the hidden mysteries of nature Dionysus became by degrees the patron of violent excesses and sensuous excitement. We have the same contrast of period in the case of the reverses of these two coins, our No. 14 being the other side of No. 4 and 13 of 6. It will be noticed that on the earlier coin the ethnic ends in ON, in the later in ΩN. Hermes appears on both. On the earlier coin he stands upright, a slight, hard, somewhat archaic figure, holding a patera. On the later he props his foot on a rock that he may tie his sandal. He has placed his caduceus on the rock, his clothing consists only of a chlamys thrown back from his shoulders. This is a fine and vigorous sketch, and worthy of a good artist in spite of its want of finish. IX. 14, 4, 13, 6.

On Nos. 7 and 8, from Phaestus, we have fine studies of Heracles. In one case he is quelling with his club the Lernaean hydra who is assisted by a crab according to the legend. His lion's skin is borne backwards from his arm as he rushes forwards. There is plenty of force in this group, and though the execution be less admirable than that displayed in the Stymphalian coin, pl. VIII. No. 34, there is more meaning and intelligence in the present design, for Heracles is here certainly not beating the air. On No. 8 the hero is resting, in an attitude rather easy than dignified, evidently worn out with toil. His bow and quiver are hung on a tree in front; and at his back is a huge wine-cup. The group is quite a landscape, and we can scarcely imagine it to resemble the work of any contemporary sculptor, rather we should fancy in it a likeness to the paintings of Pausias or some other painter fond of novel experiments and of foreshortening. For a thoroughly Hellenic treatment of the same subject we may refer back to the coin of Croton, pl. V. 29. On No. 9, also from Phaestus, we may recognize, by help of the inscription, Talos the bronze man made by Hephaestus for Minos, who threw stones at the Argonauts as they approached the Cretan shore and was slain by a stratagem of Medea. He is here represented as winged, a character which does not at all agree with his function in the legend, and is depicted in the act of hurling stones, as is often the other Cretan monster, the Minotaur. It seems clear that we have here to do with a thoroughly non-Hellenic legend. The wings of Talos may arise from his connexion with Daedalus, whose nephew he is in one account said to have been. Apart from them we may explain the type as derived from the tradition existing at Phaestus of one of those bronze images of Moloch which were used in the human sacrifices of the people of Canaan. The victims to be offered were fastened to one of these images and a fire lighted around out of which the image escaped uninjured while the human beings perished. To some such sacrifices we have clear allusion in IX. 7, 8. VIII. 34. IX. 8. V. 29. IX. 9.

one of the stories told of Talos, namely, that he seized strangers in his arms and leapt with them into the fire[1].

IX. 10. On No. 10 from Cydonia we see a young hero stringing a bow in nearly the modern fashion, only that the shortness of the bow compels him to press it against his knee rather than against his foot. The Cretans were celebrated archers and knew better than to use, in stringing a bow, the clumsy method
III. 46. represented on the Theban coin pl. III. 46. This design is of remarkably clean and neat work, especially in view of its small size; the proportions of the body seem to approach the Lysippean canon without quite reaching it. Decidedly
IX. 12. inferior is the figure of Apollo from a coin of Eleuthernae, No. 12. He holds in one hand a stone, in the other a bow. That this figure is Apollo we know because on other specimens he is seated on the omphalos, but the stone in his hand still requires explanation. Perhaps it is not a stone but an apple or some
IX. 11. other object. On No. 11 from Aptera we have again a local hero, Apteras or Pteras[2], a man of Delphi, who is said to have founded the city and to have built there a temple of Apollo. Leake suggests that in our representation he is plucking a branch from the sacred bay-tree. The inscription terms him Πτολίοικος, a word which does not occur elsewhere, but which seems to be equivalent to πόλεως οἰκιστής. He is armed as an ordinary Greek hoplite; the Cretan die-cutter, with characteristic realism, does not in any way raise him to the divine level or idealize him.

We next reach a remarkable series of coins representing deities seated in the midst of trees. We should, I think, be wrong if we saw in these representations only instances of naturalism and love of the picturesque in the Greeks of Crete. We must find a more satisfactory reason than this for so abnormal a method of representing gods and goddesses, and in order to this end must study them in some detail. We will begin with the representations of Europa from
IX. 18—20. the city of Gortyna, Nos. 18—20. A large number of the coins of Gortyna borrow their types from the Europa myth. From their variety we can conclude with certainty as to the nature of the particular local story they embody. According to this Europa was carried from beyond seas by Zeus in the form of a bull, and brought to Gortyna. There under the shade of a tree the animal left her, and the god who had assumed that form after a while reappeared in the form of an eagle. The tree is an important element; Pliny writes[3] 'Est Gortynae 'in insula Creta juxta fontem platanus una insignis utriusque linguae monimentis, 'numquam folia dimittens, statimque ei Graeciae fabulositas superfuit Jovem sub 'ea cum Europa concubuisse.' All the stages of this legend are chronicled on

[1] Lloyd in *Num. Chron.* 1848, p. 122.

[2] Paus. x. 5. Cf. Leake, *Num. Hellen.; Insulae*, p. 3.

[3] *N. H.* XII. 11.

coins, some of them on those we have selected. On pl. III. 17 we see Europa on the back of the galloping bull, on pl. IX. 20 she sits deserted and sad in the plane-tree, while the bull, on No. 24, departs. On 19 the eagle makes his appearance, perhaps far off if we may judge from his small size[1]: on No. 18 he has won the favour of Europa who fondles him with her hand. But in Europa herself on the coin last cited we see a change. She is no longer a mere nymph but a deity who resembles Hera in attributes. On her head is the *polus*, in her hand a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo. The last representation explains much, for it shews us that at Gortyna Europa was put in the place of Hera as consort of Zeus and regarded as a great deity of nature. So we must also consider the tree not as a mere background or piece of local colouring, but as having a religious meaning. For the earth-goddesses had mostly their original seat in a sacred tree, a tree like the olive of Athena at Athens, the bay of Apollo at Delphi, and the oak of Zeus at Dodona. To find an earth-goddess actually in her tree we need but turn to the coin of Myra pl. XV. 6 where the goddess of the city not only possesses her tree, but protects it against spoilers. Sacred trees were well known all over Greece[2] and the platanus of Gortyna was one of the class. In sacred trees were placed in early times the archaic statues of the deities. Probably this platanus was an older object of veneration in the district than Europa herself, and indeed Pliny seems to hold this view. Thus it is likely that in our coins the tree may be quite as essential a part of the type as either the eagle or Europa herself.

III. 17. IX. 20. IX. 24, 19. IX. 18. XV. 6.

On Nos. 15, 16 we have two figures of Apollo seated in a tree. Strange to say, they are obverse and reverse of a single coin[3]. In one case the god holds a wreath, in the other he is about to touch the lyre. The tree is his favourite bay; here no doubt we have another instance of a sacred tree and an imported deity who becomes its patron. A still more remarkable figure occurs on the coin of Phaestus, No. 17. Here we should be quite at a loss as to attribution, but for the legend which shews that the figure is intended for Fέλχανος, a peculiar form of Zeus, youthful, as Zeus often is in this island. This god is seated also in a tree with a cock, the bird of day, on his knee, a figure at once in physique, countenance and attitude almost exactly like an Apollo. That in this form Zeus is regarded as a sun-god is shewn by the presence of the cock; and the tree seems to indicate that he was regarded as a god of vegetation, a power to stimulate germination and fill the land with life and growth in the time of spring. In fact Velchanus, Apollo, and Europa in Crete seem all to have had a local character, and to have been alike connected with the life and energy

IX. 15, 16. IX. 17.

[1] Perhaps this bird may be the cuckoo.

[2] Böttiger's *Baumcultus*, *passim*.

[3] In the Hunter cabinet, Glasgow.

of nature, of which the tree is the appropriate symbol. And in fact the trees
IX. 5, 11. introduced above, on Nos. 5 and 11, may not be without a similar significance.

To return to the point of style, we may observe that, leaving out of account No. 11, where a most remarkable naturalism prevails, the trees on our coins are represented with a singular mixture of convention and truth. The bay-tree of Apollo is dealt with simply, by representing only a stump and two twigs which form a sort of wreath. What the other trees may be we should
IX. 20, 19. find it hard to say. On No. 20 we see serrated leaves as of oak; on No. 19
IX. 18. a large cluster of berries; on No. 18 a growth closely like that of the silphium
IX. 17. of Cyrene, cf. No. 29, below; on No. 17 no attempt is made to depict any settled form, but we seem to see quite a grove of trees in the background. Arboreal forms in Greek art are usually quite conventional, like the palm-tree
IX. 5, 29. on No. 5, and the silphium from Cyrene, No. 29; we are therefore more surprised at this curious outbreak of naturalism.

IX. 21. On No. 21 is a head of Zeus from Polyrhenium of unusual type, which may
V. 39. however be compared with pl. v. 39. It has a somewhat gloomy appearance.
IX. 22. On 22 is a very beautiful head of the young Dionysus, crowned with ivy, from Cydonia. This head bears perhaps as clearly as any on coins the impress of the school of Praxiteles. There is something about it which cannot fail to charm, a most pleasing expression, yet we miss the majesty of the earlier Dionysus and
IX. 23. notice a certain want of force and energy. On No. 23 we have an effigy of the Argive Hera from a coin of Cnossus. This is by no means, however, a slavish
VIII. 14, 15, 40. copy of the head of Hera on coins of Argos and Elis, pl. VIII. 14, 15, 40, but has originality. The hair is very ably treated; and the features seem to shew a certain pathos; the goddess is here not so far removed from relationship to human women as she is elsewhere. And here too I think we may trace the peculiar charm which follows the influence of Praxiteles.

IX. 24. The bull from Gortyna, No. 24, is one of the most remarkably foreshortened figures which have come down to us from antiquity. In the sculpture of the period, the middle of the fourth century, we could scarcely match it; it is however highly probable that it would no longer appear unique if we had more remains of Greek painting. It reminds us at once of the black bull which Pausias painted, 'adversum eum pinxit, non traversum[1].' No doubt the painters of that time dealt in perspective far more than the sculptors; and good as is the drawing of the bull on our coin, we see at once that it is exceptional in a relief, especially in a numismatic relief. The Cretan artists certainly worked with a certain want of fitness and disregard for the material conditions of their art; but for that very reason they give us the more valuable information as to

[1] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 126.

the contemporary state of art[1]. On No. 25 we have a subject mythologically interesting. It is from Cydonia, and represents Miletus, the destined founder of the greatest of Ionian cities, as being suckled by a she-wolf, or rather it would seem a female hound, for the forms are too slight for those of a wolf. IX. 25.

Cyrene.

The art of Cyrene stood almost as much apart from the general current of Greek art as did that of Crete. There was no doubt constant intercourse between Cyrene and Greece, and at Olympia citizens of Cyrene were frequently successful in the games; but still the people of Cyrene stood in many ways apart. Their main staple of export was the silphium plant, of which they had a practical monopoly; their chief deity was the Libyan Ammon whom they adopted from their first settlement and identified with the chief god of the Hellenic Pantheon. Almost all the coins of the whole Cyrenaic district refer to one of three subjects; the culture of the silphium, the worship of Zeus Ammon, and victories in athletic contests.

The coins of Cyrene at the bottom of pl. IX. fall into two classes as regards period. Nos. 26 to 30 which are of silver are probably anterior to, and Nos. 31 to 36 which are of gold subsequent to, the middle of the fourth century, at which period a change from a silver to a gold coinage took place at Cyrene as well as in many other parts of the Greek world. Nos. 31 and 32 are latest in style; some of the other gold pieces may in fact be earlier than the time I have mentioned. On Nos. 26—28 we have three very remarkable heads of Zeus Ammon, distinguished by the horns of a ram which rise from his temples, but otherwise resembling the Hellenic Zeus. In fact No. 28 is one of the noblest heads of Zeus we possess, and there is but slight trace in the other specimens of that barbarism which Overbeck[2] notes as a characteristic of Cyrenaic coins. The same writer however must be right in his remark that the plume attached to the diadem or wreath of Ammon above the forehead on Nos. 26, 28 is placed there in imitation of the globe and plumes worn at the same place by the Egyptian Amen-Ra. Perhaps too there is in No. 26 something of the tough animal force which belongs to the ram and which was embodied in Ammon as god of procreation and growth. In 27 and 28 this aspect of the deity is kept in the background. IX. 26—28. IX. 28. IX. 26—28. IX. 26.

In the gold coins Nos. 31—34 we may trace the merging of the barbarous IX. 31—34.

[1] R. S. Poole in *Encycl. Brit.* 8th Edit. *s. v.* Numismatics, p. 373.

[2] *Kunstmythologie*, II. 294.

in the Hellenic type, and of physical in moral attributes, if we take them in what is probably the order of date, for which purpose we must unfortunately exactly
IX. 34. invert the order on the plate. On No. 34 we have an early figure of Ammon horned, standing beside his ram, but clad in the himation and leaning on the sceptre of Zeus. Here in the aspect of the god and his muscular development
IX. 33. there is a certain want of refinement. On No. 33 the deity is without his attendant animal, and is occupied in pouring incense on an incense-altar. By this action the Greeks, mingling after their fashion active and passive, seem to have expressed in this and many other cases that the god is an object of worship and receives adoration from men. We must not of course fancy that he sacrifices to a greater than himself, but merely take the action of worship as general, and
IX. 32. symbolical of that which belongs to him by nature. On No. 32 we have Zeus-Ammon, still horned, but seated in the characteristic attitude of the Olympian god, holding the sceptre of command. On No. 31 we have no longer a horned figure but a noble representation of the Hellenic Zeus in his majesty, holding in his hand the eagle. It may be that this last figure is, however, unconnected with Ammon, as we know that the worship of the Arcadian Zeus Lycaeus prevailed at Cyrene[1], having perhaps been introduced by the law-giver Demonax of Mantineia in the sixth century. Certainly the Zeus of our present coin is much
III. 15, 16. like the same god on the early Arcadian coins, pl. III. 15, 16. But even if this be the case, none the less interesting is the progressive elimination in the Cyrenaic coin, at the best period, of foreign elements in the national worship. We shall have in the course of these pages to trace a similar course of affairs in other districts.

IX. 35. On No. 35 we have a victorious Cyrenaic chariot, driven by Victory herself,
IX. 36. a somewhat stiff work for the period (the obverse is No. 33); on No. 36 appears a victorious rider on his *keles*. In this case the proportions are far better preserved
VII. 39. between man and beast than in the contemporary coinage of Macedon, pl. VII. 39. The prowess of the people of Cyrene in gymnastic and hippic contests is strange to no reader of Pindar, and it is attested by the discovery at Cyrene
X. 29. of many Panathenaic vases. On No. 29 we have what may be considered as the arms of Cyrene, a silphium plant conventionally treated, the convention however well displaying the nature of the plant and its manner of growth. On
X. 30. No. 30 we have a symbol of the fertility of the region, three silphium plants growing from a single root. And between the stems lurk three creatures which belonged to the fauna of the district; an owl above, a jerboa leaping in the field to right, and a chamaeleon in the field to left. The whole device brings charmingly together on the surface of a single coin the surroundings of the outdoor life of the region.

[1] Hdt. IV. 203. Cf. Müller, *Num. de l'Anc. Afrique*, I. 68.

Asia Minor.

The period B.C. 371—335 is a peculiarly interesting one for Asiatic coins. Many of the Persian satraps were then allowed by the central power to issue money of their own, whether for currency in their districts, or as some rather think, on the occasion of military expeditions. And several cities, Cyzicus and Lampsacus especially, struck an abundance of coin. And this coin is the more valuable because it represents the highest limits attained by Graeco-Asiatic art. In the next age the art of Asia is flooded and destroyed by that of Athens and Sicyon, so as almost to lose its individual character, except when it returns in copies of the semi-barbarous statues of oriental antiquity. To put it shortly, there is scarcely a coin on pl. X. which an expert would not at once identify as of Asiatic character; whereas in the coins of Asia of the next period at the top of plate XIII. scarcely any is of distinctively Asiatic design.

Of the specimens of Asiatic coins in the lower half of plate X. we might well make two classes, which we might call respectively the Persian and the Greek. The coins issued by Persian officers, even when the work of Greek artists, are seldom purely Greek in design; either in mythological allusions or in style they contain a foreign element. In this class, which I will first take up, are included Nos. 22, and 26 to 35 of our plate, with the heads Nos. 46 to 49. The rest, which are uncontrolled works of Asiatic Greeks, must be dealt with afterwards.

In our first or semi-Greek class are a large number of coins with full-length figures; for among Asiatic peoples the custom of representing man or deity by figuring his head only was not in favour as it was among the Greeks, and did not prevail until after our present period. On No. 22 we have a figure from X. 22.
Halicarnassus, of the Carian Zeus Stratius or Labrandeus, the wielder of the two-edged axe. In some respects his worship resembled that of Dionysus, who was also according to Simonides[1] a wielder of the bipennis, and who was in certain places called πέλεκυς. Maury however considers Zeus Stratius mainly as a god of war, and especially of the maritime and piratical war of the Carians. Here he is a standing figure fully draped and with hair arranged in somewhat archaic fashion. As the coin was issued by Mausolus who encouraged Greek artists, we may suppose that this figure may resemble a cultus-statue set up for him by some great sculptor. On No. 26 we have a figure of a Greek hoplite X. 26.

[1] Ap. Athen. x. p. 456. Cf. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce Ant.* III. 139.

in attitude to receive a charge. It is from a coin struck in Ionia by the Satrap Orontes. M. Waddington[1] sees in it allusion to the military reforms of Chabrias, who introduced among his soldiers the custom, in receiving an enemy's charge, of kneeling on one knee and supporting the buckler against the other. Chabrias was himself sculptured in this attitude, as we learn, yet it is perhaps more in accordance with analogy to see in our type not Chabrias, but some ancient hero. The apparent superiority in attitude over earlier figures may result only from superiority in the designer. On No. 27 we have a noble figure of a deity from Cyprus. She is crowned with a wreath and holds in one hand a patera the symbol of worship, in the other a bough of some tree. The figure is massive and in high relief, and the treatment of the drapery is very notable. The folds of the chiton in front are skilfully arranged; a himation hangs down from the shoulders behind. The right arm is much foreshortened. With regard to this figure M. Six has quite recently put forward a novel and bold theory. He maintains that it is intended as a copy of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus in Attica which was a work usually attributed by the ancients to Agoracritus of Paros, but sometimes to Pheidias himself. We learn[2] from the testimony of Pausanias and other ancient writers that the statue was eleven cubits high, bearing on the head a stephanos adorned with stags and small Victories, and holding in one hand an apple-bough and in the other a patera. Part of the head of the statue is preserved in the Elgin room of the British Museum. In favour of M. Six's theory may be cited the correspondence of attributes, and the Pheidian character of the drapery of our coin-type. But we certainly have not on the coin a stephanos such as that attributed to the goddess by Pausanias[3]. In any case we can scarcely establish the certainty of an exact copy of Agoracritus' statue; but that a reminiscence of it is intended is by no means unlikely.

X. 27.

X. 28.

The next coin, No. 28, seems also to be taken from an Attic original, and that original nothing less than the Parthenos of Pheidias itself. The attitude corresponds too closely to that of the great Athenian goddess to allow us to suppose it quite unconnected with her. The art of the piece is indeed by no means good, the coin is Lycian of the hard and liny work frequent in this class of money. The right hand which supports the Victory rests on the stump of a tree, a device clearly applicable to sculpture in the round rather than relief. In the new statuette of the Athene Parthenos of Athens[4] the right hand is similarly supported by a pillar, and it has been disputed whether this pillar really occurred in the great original in gold and ivory in the Parthenon. This point we shall not here discuss, but the testimony of the present coin, and other coins and reliefs, seems to prove to demonstration that the device of using a

[1] *Mélanges de Numism.* II. 22.

[2] Six in *Num. Chron.* 1882, p. 89.

[3] See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 149.

[4] *Jour. Hell. Stud.* II. p. 1.

tree or a pillar or some other prop to support the hand and what it bears was sometimes employed even in great statues. Had this expedient been unusual, or been regarded as contemptible, it would scarcely have been copied in reliefs, where it obviously is quite inappropriate and has no meaning. Nor can the date of its first use be late, for our present coin cannot be placed later than the time of Alexander.

On No. 29 we have a group which has been plausibly explained by the late Duc de Luynes[1]. The coin was issued at Tarsus by a Persian Satrap, and the able French archaeologist saw in its type representations of two of the principal Deities of the city, Heracles and Sardanapalus. In the midst is an altar of incense which may belong to both. On the right of it stands Sardanapalus transformed by a Greek artist from his primitive Asiatic form (cf. pl. XIV. 17) to that of an effeminate Zeus or Dionysus, but still preserving the characteristic attitude of the hand which the Greeks interpreted as a contemptuous snapping of the fingers[2]. Opposite to this figure stands his cousin, the Greek Heracles, who with outstretched hand seems to be addressing him: possibly, as the Duc de Luynes thinks, exhorting him to attempt better things. If so we should have a group with a moral lesson in it, a rare or unprecedented occurrence among Greek coins. We are on safer ground in turning to our next coin No. 30. Here we have the chief deity of Tarsus Baal, who was identified either with Zeus or with Dionysus. In the present instance he sits on a throne as Zeus; beside him is an incense-altar, and beneath the throne a bull crouching; yet he holds in his hand corn and grapes, which proves that he was regarded as patron of natural growth and rural increase. Around is a circle of towers which stands for the walls of the city of Tarsus, the city which the deity fills with his presence and covers with his protection. Such a circle recurs on late Byzantine coins but scarcely elsewhere in ancient times. We may, however, compare the circle of waves on the coin of Camarina, pl. VI. 13, and the circle of Maeander-pattern on coins of Magnesia in Ionia. On No. 31 from Mallus we have again a remarkable group. Aphrodite leans, thinly draped, upon a pillar, and lays her arm caressingly on the shoulder of her companion, who however is not her usual lover Ares, but Hermes, holding a caduceus and clad in a chlamys. Here too we do not seem to discern a Hellenic myth. Probably both the figures are mere Greek transcripts of Cilician deities; what deities we cannot now stay to enquire. On No. 32 we have a figure in Persian dress seated and carefully examining an arrow, while a bow lies at his feet. This archer is either some deity or hero, or perhaps the Great King of Persia in generalized and idealized form. Above is the symbol of the divine presence, a

X. 29. XIV. 17. X. 30. VI. 13. X. 31. X. 32.

[1] *Numism. des Satrapies*, p. 29.

[2] And put into words in the phrase, ἔσθιε πῖνε παῖζε, ὡς τἄλλα τούτου οὐκ ἄξια, Athenaeus XII. p. 530.

winged disk. The seated attitude of this figure, like that of Apollo on the coins of the Greek Kings of Syria, and that of the Parthian King on the Parthian money, seems to have suggested to an Asiatic mind rule or dominion.

X. 33. On No. 33 we have a figure of Pallas seated on a rock at the foot of a tree. In her hand is a spear and a shield lies beside her. This coin is from Mallus, a city where Pallas was much venerated: its other side is represented

X. 31, 34. in No. 31. On No. 34, from Lycia, we have a distinctly Asiatic goddess,—whom we may if we please call Aphrodite, but whom it is safer merely to class with Kybele and Mylitta and the Ephesian Artemis—seated between two sphinxes and holding a flower. The delicacy with which her garments are folded is quite

X. 35. extraordinary and admirable. On No. 35 we have a young male figure, presumably Dionysus, seated in the midst of a vine. With the grapes of the vine

X. 30. are mingled as on the coin of Tarsus, No. 30, ears of corn. Before quitting this remarkable Graeco-Asiatic group of types I must say a few words as to their style. The first thing that strikes one in regard to them is the harmonious manner in which they blend Hellenic and Asiatic elements. The Pallas on No.

X. 33. 33 is surrounded by Barbarians; yet she does not seem out of place nor do they. From whatever circle of mythology our coins take their types, in the treatment of those types Hellenic style is in this period on the whole victorious. We find indeed very various degrees of merit in the design; even in case of the two sides of one coin; but we find little of Assyrian and Persian convention, even when the coins bear Aramaic inscriptions. Only the coins of Phoenicia, cf.

XIV. 4, 5. pl. XIV. 4, 5, form an exception to this rule and do not become in design Hellenic until the second century before our aera. In the second place it is very notable how closely the coins of the Persian Satraps resemble in some points those of Crete of the same period; more particularly in their way of

X. 28, 33, introducing trees. The trees on our Nos. 28, 33 are wonderfully like the tree

IX. 11. on the coin of Aptera, pl. IX. 11. Pallas on our No. 33 is seated beneath a

X. 33.
IX. 5. tree, so is the Cretan goddess on pl. IX. 5. Dionysus on our No. 35 is placed

X. 35. in the midst of a tree, as are Apollo and Europa on the Cretan coins. Many other points of likeness will be visible on close inspection of this plate and the last. And yet as to the reason of these resemblances we are in the dark. Something may be set down to the character of semi-barbarism which attaches to both series, but this is in itself not a sufficient explanation; and we must await one more complete.

X. 46—49. Of the female heads, Nos. 46—49, the last three are Cyprian and represent the same Goddess, the Paphian Aphrodite. In them we can trace alike her

X. 48. barbarous origin and her complete Hellenization. On No. 48 she appears smothered with ornament, wearing a lofty tiara covered with jewels and long pendent earrings. On the early terra-cotta figures of the same deity from Cyprus

this barbarous profusion of ornament is equally conspicuous. On No. 49 the goddess wears a diadem of peculiar form, with leaves or medallions at regular intervals. The same ornament is found on the head of a Goddess on coins of Euboea and on a terra-cotta of the British Museum; but it also does not appear to be native to Greece. On the other hand the head of Aphrodite on No. 47 is of thoroughly Greek type. The stephanos here is, like that of Hera, adorned with flowers, cf. pl. VIII. 13, 14, 40, and lends dignity to the head of the goddess, which however is of far less composed and stately type than that of Hera, and although it has suffered from time still preserves much charm of expression. It is a good instance to shew how completely in course of time the Greeks reconquered the Semitic sources whence much of their mythology had spread, and repaid with interest all that they had borrowed from the East. No. 46 seems to be the head of a nymph. It is from a coin of Cilicia struck by the Satrap Pharnabazus, and reminds us at once of the nymph-heads of Syracuse, pl. VI. 22, and Thessaly, pl. VII. 35. Probably the coins just cited were the models of No. 46, but it is of another style, of ruder and harder work.

X. 49. X. 47. X. 46. VI. 22. VII. 35.

We next turn to the purely Hellenic types of plate X. In them there is little trace of barbarous influence; but on the other hand there is something of Ionian softness. Mr Poole, in his paper already cited[1], advocates the theory that they betray in a marked degree the influence of the great painters, of whom several, such as Parrhasius, Apelles and Protogenes were Asiatic Greeks. This influence he assigns as the cause of the boldness of design in our coins, and their freer attempts at expression than are usual elsewhere. Certainly these characteristics do mark the coins we are about to discuss, more especially those of Cyzicus and Lampsacus.

On No. 23, from Cyzicus, we have a figure of Apollo seated on the Delphic omphalos, holding in one hand a patera, and letting the other rest lovingly on his lyre. It is remarkable how different is this conception of the Delphic god from that current at Delphi itself, see pl. VII. 44. At Delphi the god is fully draped, and thought of as the master of the lyre and of prophecy; at Cyzicus he retains the lyre; but here the patera in his hand and the cock at his feet both rather recall the sun-god than the ruler of life and morals, or the founder of Hellenic colonies on distant shores. The type of our present coin, however, is not very original, and belongs to a class which is numerous at this period. On No. 24 from a gold coin of Lampsacus we have Nike kneeling, hammering a helmet to a trophy. This is an early instance of such employment in Nike; in the Alexandrine age we could cite a multitude of instances from coins and gems; for instance, pl. XI. 21, XIV. 1. In other cases however Nike stands; her

X. 23. VII. 44. X. 24. XI. 21. XIV. 1.

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1864.

posture here is unusual, though by no means ill-considered in relation to the work on which she is engaged, and extremely well adapted to the field of the coin.

X. 25. On No. 25, also from Lampsacus, we see Cora rising from the earth. Her face is upraised; in her hand are three ears of corn, and others together with grapes are springing behind her shoulder. Complete is here the identification of the goddess and her attribute: she is embowered amid the ears of growing corn, and like it half buried in the ground. She does not make the corn and vine grow, but she *is* the corn and vine growing, and returning again to the face of the earth after lying hidden in its depths. Certainly the artist who designed this beautiful figure thoroughly understood Hellenic religion. With this figure of

X. 41, 45. Cora we may compare two heads of Demeter from Cyzicus, Nos. 41 and 45. No. 45 might almost be an enlargement from the head of our Lampsacene figure. The veil would seem to shew that the head is meant for the mother goddess, but its brightness and upturned attitude speak of growth and life not of depri-

X. 41. vation and sadness. On No. 41, on the other hand, we may certainly recognize the Demeter of the Mysteries, the sorrowing goddess who constituted almost the only sober band in the rainbow of Greek religion. Her veil is drawn forward, not put out of sight, and in the expression of the face sadness tempers dignity.

In the coins lately cited there certainly seems to be something of pathos and of sentiment, something on the borders of painting. The same character

X. 38. belongs to other Lampsacene coins, such as Nos. 38 to 40. On No. 38 we have a male bearded head wearing a wreathed pileus. Who this may be is doubtful, probably the artist would have called him by a Hellenic name, and various names have been assigned him in modern times, among others, those of Odysseus and Hephaestus. These attributions are founded on the conical shape of the

VI. 4. pileus, but a reference to pl. VI. 4 will shew that such a head covering might be worn by a local hunter or hero. This head has not the stately repose which belongs to the divine and consummate artist Hephaestus, nor the expression of restless daring and intrigue which belongs to the hero of the Odyssey. Possibly it may be the head of one of the local Cabeiri. In any case the lank hair and strongly marked features make it remarkable. There is something about it quite modern. Of a similar character are the two heads of Maenads,

X. 39, 40. Nos. 39, 40 from Lampsacus. The former head looks as if in the very midst of a wild orgy, the hair wildly disordered and the streaming ends of the ivy-wreath indicate rapid motion, the expression of the head is one of fierce

X. 40. excitement. The head on No. 40 is in repose and the hair hangs loosely about the ears; but in this case the introduction of a pointed ear gives a certain non-human and bestial air to the features which repels us even more than ungoverned fury. We can scarcely be wrong in tracing the adoption of such types

to the influence of Praxiteles and Scopas, to whom is due, as all know, the complete development in artistic shape of the Dionysiac circle of daemons.

The influence of the same school is visible in the full-face Apollo heads, of which No. 36 is from a coin of King Mausolus struck probably at Halicarnassus, X. 36. and No. 37 from a coin of Clazomenae. In both of these we find great beauty X. 37. and delicacy of treatment; in the case of No. 37 there is a pathos of expression, a proud dignity which at once fascinates. The head of Apollo in profile from Mytilene, No. 44, seems very tame in comparison. The swan of Apollo on No. 50 X. 44. X. 50. is also from Clazomenae, and is singularly noble, yet not untruthful. In No. 42 X. 42. from a Cyzicene stater of electrum, we reach a representation of a most puzzling character. The issue of Cyzicene staters is supposed by Mr Head[1] to have ceased about B.C. 390; all writers seem agreed that they do not come down lower than the accession of Alexander the Great; yet here we have what at first looks like a thoroughly realistic portrait of a coarse-looking man[2]. Yet it is quite a fixed point in the history of Greek art that there are no thoroughly realistic portraits of an earlier time than that of Alexander the Great. We seem then to have a conflict of evidence; so that the coin merits a serious study. The result of a closer inspection seems to be that this is not a portrait. What gives it the appearance of one is the square form of the head, the bloated neck, the swelling veins, the non-Hellenic profile. But portaits do not ever I believe appear wearing wreaths before the third century: and a Greek artist of the best time would scarcely occupy himself in imaging the repulsive features of a barbarian. It is therefore almost certain that the head on our coin must be that of some slavish or barbarous daemon of Greek mythology, in all probability that of one of the more disreputable members of the Dionysiac rout, Silenus or perhaps Priapus. Considering the boldness of design exhibited by Asiatic coins at the period, especially those of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, we can scarcely say that the type is too vulgar and brutal to represent deities of this loose character.

On No. 43 from Tenedos we have a janiform head, of which one side is X. 43. male the other female. This type aroused curiosity among the Greeks themselves, and Aristotle[3] entertained a fancy that the type arose from a decree of a king of Tenedos, punishing adultery with death. There is far more probability in the opinion of M. Lenormant[4] that the head is that of the dimorphous or androgynous Dionysus. The point for us to observe is that the heads, at first rude, become in the period of fine art so stately that they have frequently been taken

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1876, p. 293.

[2] See the remarks of W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* 1880, p. 11.

[3] Apud Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Tenedos.

[4] In Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary*, *s. v.* Bacchus.

for those of Zeus and Hera. So great was at that time the love of the Greeks for noble forms that many even of the less worthy of their conceptions acquired dignity and grandeur.

Copies of Statues.

Of a few of the statues of the Praxitelian age we have probably faithful copies on coins of late time. Nos. 20, 21 of pl. xv., from Cnidus, present us one with the head, the other with the entire figure of the most celebrated of ancient Aphrodites, the nude figure at Cnidus by Praxiteles. The full-length figure has been fully discussed in the text-books of the history of sculpture, the head has attracted less observation, and the coin of my plate is unpublished. In the length and pose of the neck and in the line of profile we may certainly discern the characteristics of the school of Praxiteles; and the coin, however rude, possesses elements of beauty. Of a great statue of Scopas, the Apollo Smintheus of the Troad we have a possible copy on the coin of Alexandria Troas, pl. xv. 23. Apollo here is fully draped, as in the other work of Scopas, the Palatine statue, and as on the contemporary coin of Delphi, pl. vii. 44. But certainly the pose seems very stiff for the age of Scopas, and the hair is arranged in archaic fashion. Probably for these reasons Brunn, Overbeck and other writers do not accept the identity of the statue of Scopas with that on our coin, an identity maintained by K. O. Müller and Welcker. The evidence however may be shortly stated, and seems to preponderate in favour of Müller's view. It is abundantly evident from the statement of Strabo[1] that the statue of Scopas was the cultus statue in the temple of Apollo Smintheus. The silver coins[2] of Alexandria Troas bear a figure of Apollo draped, with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ. On some of the copper coins of the city a figure in essentials identical appears distinctly as a cultus-statue, i.e. as receiving worship, and on other copper coins there is at his feet the rat or mouse in exact correspondence with the words of Strabo. The statue of our present coin is evidently meant to be the same as that on the coins just mentioned; but it differs from them in the manner in which Apollo stands with both feet together, instead of putting one in advance, and in the fashion of the hair, which is long and arranged in a sort of *queue* instead of being bound round the head, as on the silver coins. It seems clear that in all cases alike the intention is to portray the statue of Scopas. But we cannot entirely free ourselves from a dilemma. The statue on

xv. 20, 21.

xv. 23. vii. 44.

[1] Strabo, p. 604.

[2] *Br. Mus. Guide*, vi. a. 11.

the silver coins has nothing about it which cannot be reconciled with the age of Scopas. But the present coin, which is of Roman period, and which seems executed by a far more careful hand, bears marks of distinct archaism. We must accept one of two alternatives:—either the artist who designed our coin introduced traits of archaism not in his model, or else the statue of Scopas did retain certain archaic traits. In weighing the second alternative we should consider that Scopas may have felt bound for religious reasons to adhere to an older type; and it is worth while to remember that Strabo applies to the statue the term *ξόανον*, though that term need not imply something archaic. In weighing the first alternative we must not fail to observe that it is very easy to suppose that an artist of coins in the second century B. C. would modernize a statue which he copied; but less easy to imagine that an artist of Roman times would distinctly give an archaic character to a work of art which he was copying when such character did not belong to it. Some editors of Strabo avoid the difficulty by slightly changing the reading, substituting *ἔργον* for *ἔργα*[1], in which case the mouse at the feet of Apollo, and not the statue itself, would seem to be attributed to the hand of Scopas. But it is most unlikely that Scopas would condescend to such a trifling piece of work, or, if he did, that Strabo would record the authorship of the mouse and not that of the statue.

There will be found on pl. XV. a few other figures of deities which we will here mention, although they need not belong to the present period. Indeed those of them which are enthroned would seem rather to belong to the previous period, when the pupils of Pheidias were erecting seated statues in so many Greek temples. No. 27 is a coin of Chalcis in Euboea, bearing the figure of a goddess with turreted crown seated on a rock or mountain holding a patera and a sceptre bound with a fillet. That this goddess is Hera the inscription, *Ἥρα*, testifies, but the form taken by the goddess is unusual; her mountain-throne is, I think, unexampled. On No. 24, from Corinth, we have a figure of Hermes seated in a shrine with a ram beside him. It is a rule, I think without exceptions, that when a figure thus appears in a building on coins, it is a copy of the cultus-statue which was the central point of the building. This shrine of Hermes cannot be older than the settlement of Roman Corinth by Julius Caesar; but the statue may be, like many of those seen by Pausanias at Corinth, of earlier date. That traveller appears to mention this very figure[2] as set up in the road to the harbour Lechaeum, *χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός*. No. 25 gives us a representation of the armed Aphrodite who was enthroned on the Acropolis of later Corinth. We may well believe XV. 27. XV. 24. XV. 25.

[1] See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 226. This reading is supported by a quotation of Eustathius, *ad Il.* p. 30. 16.

[2] II. 3. 4.

that in early times she had been fully armed, a rude figure like a Palladium,
XV. 17, 28. cf. No. 17, or the Apollo of Amyclae No. 28. But in later times her arms seemed inappropriate, and the shield which alone was left to her was supposed to be stolen from Ares, and used by the goddess merely as a mirror. The conceit is much older than the Roman foundation of Corinth; and one of the most plausible restorations of the Aphrodite of Melos places her in the same
XV. 26. attitude as this Corinthian goddess. In No. 26, from Delphi, we have a cultus-statue of Apollo standing in his temple, naked, holding in his right hand a patera and leaning his left elbow on a pillar. This coin is specially interesting because Pausanias in his elaborate description of Delphi[1] does not mention any cultus-statue. It would appear that the omphalos stood in the place of a statue. There was however in the Adytum a statue of gold, perhaps hidden there on account of its great value; and this may be the image represented on our coin. It can scarcely have been more ancient than the sack of Delphi during the Sacred War by the Phocians, who would hardly have spared so rich booty. On
XV. 31. the coin of Alexander the Great, No. 31, we have a figure as yet unexplained, a naked youth standing and holding in both hands above his head a long woollen fillet. This figure is not unusual on the coins of Sicyon. It may be an Apollo[2], but we cannot be sure.

This is but a small fraction of the instances in which coins offer us copies of statues, of which the most part have perished, though small copies of a few are extant. It would be a great and worthy work to collect the whole numismatic material bearing on this subject; but this is quite beyond our limits. I can but endeavour to raise interest, not to satisfy it, and with this view I have included in the selection alike copies of well-known statues, and reproductions of which the originals are not mentioned in our histories of sculpture.

[1] x. 24.

[2] Müller, *Num. d'Alex. le Gr.* p. 219.

CHAPTER VI.

Period of Decline:—early.

The period B. C. 335—280 witnessed the most rapid transformation which ever took place in the history of the ancient world, probably the most rapid in the history of the world down to the last century. The horizon of Greece was enormously enlarged, and Hellenism extended into the seats of the great Empires of the East; and at the same time civic and municipal life in the old Greek countries was ruined. The conquests of Alexander transplanted the tree of Greek civilization into other lands; and though it there took root and flourished, yet the fruits and foliage of it were for the time spoiled. The artistic activities of a nation are among the first to feel a sudden change in its centre of gravity.

The art of Greece had grown up under the shadow of Hellenic religion and was adapted to a state of civic autonomy; and when scepticism and philosophy took the place of religion, and regal systems the place of autonomy, the basis of it was cut away. Yet it was too full of vitality to perish; it took new forms and followed new inspirations. And in the process it lost its unity and completeness; it seemed to wander in the dark and frequently to occupy itself with unworthy subjects. This uncertainty caused the decline of Greek art, which consisted far more in the loss of ennobling ideas and stately self-containment than in any real decline in the artistic powers of the Greeks or inferiority in material processes. Rather we may say that in knowledge and love of nature, in skill in artistic effect and in mastery of the processes of production art did not decline until the Roman period; for in all these respects the sculptures of the Pergamene and Neo-Attic schools will bear a comparison with anything of an earlier period.

This however is only true of the higher art, of sculpture and painting. The minor branches of art, such as vase-painting and coin-stamping, exhibit a marked decline after the time of Alexander, not only in intention and design but also in the details of execution. Vase-paintings and coin-types alike become rough and careless, and no longer mirror the state of contemporary art. The same phenomena recurred in Italy at the time of the Renaissance. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian medals are worthy to be placed beside

Italian paintings and sculpture; but at a later time, when painting shewed a moral rather than a material decline, medals became in all respects debased, and quite unworthy to be placed beside the works even of a Guido or a Carracci. K. O. Müller well compares the art of die-cutting to a branch into which life spreads slowly from the main-stem. To enlarge on the comparison we may say that in the spring-time of art, when the stem is overflowing with life and energy, these flow into the branch; but in the cold season, though the sap is still in the tree, it is pent in the roots and the stem, and does not reach outlying parts.

The upper limit of date in the four plates XI.—XIV. is fixed for convenience at the year of Alexander's appointment as General and practical Dictator of Hellas. We have however excluded from them not only all coins of a time before the invasion of Persia, but even many coins which may probably have been issued at a later date, in cases where they are a mere continuation of the autonomous coinage of cities, and shew no trace of Alexandrine influence. It is in fact more than probable that the expedition into Asia did not at once affect the coinages of Peloponnesus and other districts; they were not changed until the days of Alexander's more grasping generals the Diadochi; of Demetrius, Cassander and the rest. In Asia the change may have come earlier and been more marked, but even there we have proofs that some cities went on with their local coinages until the dominion of the Seleucid Kings of Syria was fully established. I have however admitted into the plates scarcely any coins but such as shew in style distinct traces of the influence of Alexander's age or such as bear in their inscriptions full proof of a date after the ruin of Persia. This applies to Hellas and Asia; in Italy and Sicily the reign of Alexander does not make an epoch, but here in place of it as a landmark we have the expedition of the Molossian King Alexander into Italy, and the reign of Agathocles in Sicily.

In numismatics the period has new and clearly-marked characteristics, most of which may be traced to the influence of Alexander and his coins. The proportions of the human body, and the attitudes of deities are those usual in the school of Lysippus. Victory becomes a very usual type. Deities seated on thrones or standing take the place of deities seated on rocks or in landscapes, and the choice of subjects is greatly narrowed. And in the treatment of male heads we find nearly always traces of the personality of Alexander himself; more especially in those strongly idealized portraits of kings and imaginary portraits of ancestral heroes which now become usual. In the rendering of most animals we find complete decadence. Of all these statements we shall find illustrations as we proceed.

Italy.

Our Italian series, at the beginning of pl. XI., commences with a standing Heracles, from Heracleia in Lucania. That this is a work of the decline would scarcely be denied by anyone who went carefully over the coins of the city; indeed the attitude in which the hero stands, facing the spectator, with his hands spread on both sides, reminds us of quite late productions, such as the Bactrian coins, Nos. 21, 22 of pl. XIV. But in details it is a very favourable specimen for the time; the figure of Heracles is executed in a manner worthy of a better design. On No. 2, from a coin of Pyrrhus probably struck in Italy, we have an entirely new subject. At this time the fondness of Alexander for the memory of his supposed ancestor Achilles, and his enthusiasm on the subject of the Trojan war had given a strong impulse towards the representation in works of art of subjects from the Iliad. Homeric subjects are found about the times of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus on the coins of several Thessalian cities. The subject of the present coin is certainly Homeric. It is apparently the goddess Thetis seated on a sea-horse, bearing to her son the arms of Hephaestus, arms among which is conspicuous the shield with Gorgon-head in the midst. We know that marine subjects of this class were favourites with Scopas; our coin is half a century later, and has in it something of Alexandrine style; yet in essentials it seems fairly to represent the style of Scopas, better perhaps than more pretentious works of later times. The obverse of the same piece, No. 10, bears a helmeted head, in all probability meant for Achilles. We here meet one of the most marked peculiarities of the period, the influence on art of Alexander's personality. Not only do his feelings and preferences dictate the choice of subjects in the productions of his contemporaries, but his features actually lend themselves to the faces of all young heroes of the past. Henceforth in the heads of heroes, and even of deities, especially Zeus and Heracles, one finds the deep-set eye, the leonine brow, the ardent expression which belong to the Macedonian hero, and are the signs of a nature of fervid and overflowing genius, mingled with a slight tendency towards insanity. On a coin of Lysimachus, pl. XII. 16, we have a noble head of Alexander represented as son of Ammon and so bearing the horn of a ram, but otherwise only slightly idealized. To this portrait we must again return; at present I wish to point out the close likeness between it and the helmeted head of Achilles. It is evident that the ancestor is conceived in the likeness of his descendant, and we must

XI. 1.

XIV. 21, 22.

XI. 2.

confess that a happier idea of the head of Homer's hero could not easily be found.

XI. 3, 4. On Nos. 3 and 4 we have a pair of horsemen crowning their horses, from Tarentum. Placed side by side these two groups form a marked contrast. In the first the anatomical details alike of rider and horse are worked out with elaborate care and minute fidelity. The only fault we can find is that too much is attempted for the space, whence results a certain want of vigour and harmony. In the second we have a thoroughly stiff wooden group in every way poor. The first coin is not in time much anterior to the second. The two together seem to convey in briefest space the secret of the art history of the period; over-elaboration and refinement leading rapidly to decline and inferiority, poorness in execution soon coming to join poverty in design, and presaging the ruin of art,

XI. 5. at least in the numismatic province. No. 5, from Tarentum, is a later treatment of the subject which we have already met on pl. v., Taras riding on a dolphin. Here the form of the hero is softer and more effeminate; and his position less masterly. In his hand is a bunch of grapes.

XI. 6. On No. 6 we have a Zeus-head from Locri in Bruttium of somewhat elabo-

XI. 7. rately ornate type. On No. 7, a coin of King Pyrrhus, we have the head of the great Epirote divinity, Zeus Dodonaeus. The god is crowned with an oak-wreath which is worked out in ornate style, and his hair and beard shew careful though somewhat superficial work. The head is a noble one, although in low relief and in all respects of late style. In the expression there is an absence of calm majesty, but in place of it something earnest and enthusiastic; an expression in which we may if we please see something appropriate to the special character of the Dodonaean Zeus Naius the great oracular god, who dwells in the darkness and is served by the ascetic Selli. But at the same time a

XI. 10. comparison with contemporary works as No. 10 will shew us that this earnestness of expression belongs in a marked degree to male heads of the time of Alexander; and that it may be set down, at least in part, as a peculiarity of a

XI. 8, 9. school. On Nos. 8 and 9 are two Apolline heads, the first from Croton, the second from Tarentum. In No. 9 there is visible, in spite of the smallness of the coin, a decided mannerism, a pathetic expression which reminds us rather of 15th century Italian than of Hellenic art. No. 8 is of a more common-place character. Noteworthy in it is the arrangement of the hair, which is very long and slopes backward in a stream. This is an exaggeration of the arrangement

VIII. 37. in the Zeus-head, pl. VIII. 37, and belongs altogether to the period of decline. Wonderfully like this head of Apollo is that of Persephone from Metapontum

XI. 15. immediately below it, No. 15; indeed so close resemblance between the heads of two so different deities shews that at this period the die-cutters of Italy thought far more of manner than of matter, and of form than of meaning. And

after observing this we need not be surprised to find that although the two specimens in the plate are beautiful, the great majority of similar and contemporary coins at Croton and Metapontum are very poor.

On Nos. 11 and 14, from Neapolis, we have two heads of a nymph, or perhaps of the Siren Parthenope. No. 11 is earlier, and of pleasing though somewhat ornate style; No. 14, which is later, is of the poor and hard though neatly executed class of money which prevailed in Italy about the time of the Roman conquest when the dominion in Magna Graecia was passing from Greek to Roman, from a beauty-loving to an order-loving race. No. 12, from Thurium, and No. 13, from Heracleia, bear heads of Pallas, whose helmet is adorned with the sea-monster Scylla. Compared with the Thurian heads of previous times, pl. v. Nos. 17, 18, the present types are strikingly poor. No. 12 is of weak and common type, and it certainly belongs to the decline to load with heavy ornament the upper part of a Corinthian helmet, as in No. 13. The close-fitting Athenian helmet will bear the figure of Scylla easily; but the same figure transferred to the back of a Corinthian helmet seems to overbalance it. On No. 16 is a head of Persephone which faces the spectator, wearing a corn-wreath. There is here more expression than in most numismatic heads of the goddess; but certainly nothing very noble. Indeed we might venture to call it rather sorry than sorrowful. As illustrations of the animal types of the period are selected (Nos. 17—20) an eagle tearing a hare from Locri, a lion crushing a stag from Velia, a man-headed bull crowned by Victory from Neapolis, and a butting bull from Thurium. All of these shew marked falling-off. Among them the only type of mythological interest is the man-headed bull, No. 19. We have had similar creatures before on coins of Sicily, pl. II., and these I have explained to represent river-gods, in accordance with an opinion now almost universally admitted. It is however probable that quite another meaning attaches to the man-headed bull of the Campanian cities. For we have no sufficient proof that streams were objects of special worship in Campania; but we have on the other hand ample proof that the cultus of Dionysus, especially of Dionysus Zagreus, was there quite at home, and that the god was frequently invoked in the form of a horned youth or a human-headed bull. And figures of this monster are often accompanied by Dionysiac emblems. It seems likely then that in the present and similar instances we have representations of the Dionysus of the Mysteries in tauriform guise.

XI. 11, 14. XI. 12, 13. V. 17, 18. XI. 12. XI. 16. XI. 17—20. XI. 19

With the present period we may be said to come to an end of the coinage of Magna Graecia. Hereafter we have in Italy scarcely any but Roman coins or coins of the Italic races, the Lucanians and Bruttii who maintained a little longer their independence of the conquering Republic. And in view of the coins which we have discussed, it can scarcely be said that the art of Italy, like that of

most Sicilian cities, died a violent death from foreign conquest; rather it died a natural death before the final crushing blows came from without.

Sicily.

In Sicily the age of Alexander and the Diadochi is filled by the reigns of
XI. 21. Agathocles and Hicetas and the expedition of Pyrrhus. On pl. XI. No. 21 is a Syracusan coin of the age of Agathocles. The type of Victory erecting a trophy is not unknown in earlier times; it occurs for instance in the frieze of the beautiful temple of Nike Apteros, but it becomes far more usual in the Alexandrine age when men's minds were filled by innumerable victories over barbarous foes. Agathocles too was a winner of brilliant victories, and had every right to introduce the type at Syracuse. In the present group Victory is nailing to the frame a conical helmet, in shape like that Tyrrhenian helmet dedicated to Zeus by Hiero I.[1], and probably meant to be Carthaginian. If we compare
XIV. 1. with the present coin that of Seleucus of Syria, pl. XIV. 1, we shall discern amid general similarity interesting differences. In our Sicilian coin there is more attempt at an artistic result, especially in allowing the drapery to conceal only the lower part of the body of Nike. In artistic motive there certainly is a likeness between her and the Aphrodite of Melos; but the likeness is probably one of those which spring from proximity of period rather than one which denotes
XI. 22. similar meaning. On No. 22, a Sicilian coin of Pyrrhus, is a decidedly original treatment of the archaic fighting Pallas. While preserving the archaic general type the artist of this coin has put Pallas in motion; she seems advancing and the end of her chlamys streams behind her. Here again we may instructively
XV. 17. compare a coin of Seleucus, pl. XV. 17, which adheres to the more conventional
XI. 23. type. On No. 23, which also bears the name of Pyrrhus, we have again an original design; Nike appears floating down to earth, holding in one hand an oak-wreath, a meet reward for an Epirote victor, and in the other a trophy. The idea of this coin seems to be taken from the gold money of Alexander,
XII. 10. pl. XII. 10; but the model is decidedly improved on in regard to the attitude of the Victory and varied in the attributes she carries, especially in the substitution of a trophy for the mere trophy-frame of Alexander's coin. There is
XI. 27. one more of Pyrrhus' coins on our plate, No. 27, which bears a veiled female head and the inscription Φθίας. As Phthia was the name of the mother of Pyrrhus it is generally supposed that our coin offers us her portrait; and cer-

[1] *Br. Mus. Guide to Bronze Room*, p. 12.

tainly this head is quite in the style of other idealized portraits of the period, and the veil is just such as would be worn by a royal mother. Some however suppose that the head is not merely idealized but purely ideal, and represents the part of Thessaly called Phthia or the eponymous nymph of that district, whence Pyrrhus the descendant of Neoptolemus claimed the origin of his house to spring.

On our plate are several other Syracusan heads of the period, Syracuse at this time ruling almost all Sicily. No. 24 represents perhaps Apollo, but more probably Ares, being indeed a somewhat close copy from the gold staters of Philip of Macedon, pl. VII. 30. The gold Philippi had for a long time universal circulation in Western Europe, and it is rather in deference to their commercial than their artistic qualities that the Syracusans imitated them. The style of the head is however changed, and shews more delicacy and less manliness than the design on Philip's coin. On No. 25 we have a head not unlike that of Apollo but for the expression of command which it wears. The inscription however, Διὸς Ἑλλανίου, shews that it is intended rather to represent Zeus when young. Statues of Zeus as a young man are so rare that a special interest attaches to this coin, but the surname given to the deity is not distinctive; and we have no means of explaining the reason of so unusual a variety[1]. The head of Heracles, on No. 26, is a poor copy of that on Alexander's coins, pl. XII. 15. On Nos. 28, 29 we have two late heads of Persephone. The former which dates from the time of Pyrrhus is pleasing; the arrangement of the hair in loosely falling tresses is only found at this period, and is a thoroughly charming variety; in general type it is not unlike the head of Persephone above, No. 15. The other head of the same goddess, No. 29, is far closer to the traditional type of Syracusan heads; which is best represented on our plates by the Locrian coin, pl. VII. 46. But while the general type is carefully preserved the relief is lower, the lines harder and the expression far less dignified. The chariot also, No. 30, is a 'poor cousin' of the Syracusan chariots of pl. VI.

XI. 24. VII. 30. XI. 25. XI. 26. XII. 15. XI. 28, 29. VII. 46. XI. 30.

Nos. 31 to 33 of our plate are Carthaginian specimens, and interesting as shewing the tendencies of the art of Carthage. The two heads of Persephone are closely copied from contemporaneous or earlier heads on coins of Syracuse, such as No. 29. But the Carthaginians have deliberately chosen to make much of all the worst points of their copy. The false drawing of the eyelids and eye, the heaviness of the chin, is copied and exaggerated. So is the ungraceful straightness of the neck, the formally ornate arrangement of the hair. The leaf which rises on the Syracusan coin towards the top of the head becomes in the Carthaginian coin a complete horn[2]. Nevertheless about this latter there is a

XI. 31—33.

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, II. 196.

[2] It is worth enquiry whether this prominent leaf may not be the source of the great leaf which divides the head of Apollo on ancient British coins.

pride and dignity which pleases some eyes, as is shewn by the fact that the head of the Republic on French coins of 1848 is in the main copied from it.

XI. 33. On No. 33 is a horse standing, which is much like the late and stiff horse

XI. 4. above quoted from coins of Tarentum, No. 4; but he too is made worse in the copying.

Hellas.

Passing to Greece proper, pl. XII., we come first on the leading type of the period, the Zeus on the coins of Alexander the Great. Of this deity we have a

XII. 1. representation from Macedon in No. 1 and another from Peloponnesus in No. 23.

XII. 23. These two coins differ remarkably in style; the former being in design stiff, the latter being extremely free, and shewing as a variety on the original type a pair of Victories standing on the back of the throne. This difference between the two pieces may be partly accounted for by difference of period, the first probably dating from the early years of Alexander's reign, the latter having been struck after his death. But clearly both point to the same original, that original being a figure of the Zeus of Olympia and Arcadia, who in pre-Pheidian

III. 15, 16, 41, 43. times regularly bears in his hand the eagle rather than Nike, cf. pl. III. 15, 16, 41, 43. The Zeus of Alexander's coins is certainly not an imitation in any close sense of the great Olympian statue of Pheidias, but the type is probably introduced in honour of the god represented by that statue; Alexander not less than his father Philip being eager to pose as favourite of the great Hellenic deity.

XII. 2, 3, On Nos. 2 and 3, from coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, we have two strongly contrasted figures of Poseidon. The figure striking with a trident, and having a chlamys wrapped round the other arm, is but a freer reproduction of a type which, as we have already seen, specially belongs to Poseidon. In early repre-

I. 2, 14, 15. V. 5. VII. 2. sentations, pl. I. 2, 14, 15, V. 5 the chlamys of the god hangs over both arms; at a somewhat later period he is entirely naked, pl. VII. 2; in the present case the chlamys is turned into a defence; the attitude here is also much more boldly designed. In No. 3 Poseidon is in the act of striking his foes; in No. 2 he is at rest, in an attitude familiar to us from the sculpture of the post-Alexandrine age, resting his foot on a rock and looking meditatively out over the sea, as Overbeck says, 'in seiner ganzen trotzigen Kraft[1].' Several other figures of Poseidon are found on coins of the period distinguished by the attributes of dolphin and trident, but in all of them his attitude is nearly that of his brother Zeus; it is remarkable that in the case of Poseidon, as in that of

[1] *Kunstmythologie*, III. 274.

Demeter and Hera, the testimony of most coins is not easy to reconcile with that derived from other sources as to the manner in which Greek artists ordinarily represented the god. We have a seated Poseidon from Boeotia, No. 5, XII. 5, 22.
and from Tenos, No. 22, and a standing Poseidon clad like Zeus in a himation, also from Tenos, No. 24. Another apparent plagiarism from the usual seated XII. 24.
type of Zeus is the figure of Asclepius from Epidaurus, No. 21. The healing XII. 21.
deity is here seated on a throne, his right hand resting on the head of a coiled snake, in his left a sceptre: beneath the throne is a dog. This figure has been supposed to be a copy of the statue of gold and ivory at Epidaurus, of the school of Pheidias, probably by his pupil Thrasymedes of Paros. The words in which Pausanias describes the statue certainly closely apply to the figure of our coin. 'He sits on a throne grasping a sceptre, the other hand he rests on the head of his serpent; a dog lies by his side[1].' It is clear that we have to do with a close copy of the Pheidian Zeus; and scarcely with a type really appropriate to Asclepius.

On No. 4 is a type which has attracted much notice in recent years. It is XII. 4.
from a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and represents Nike or perhaps Fame standing on the prow of a galley and blowing a trumpet. This group and the fighting Poseidon of No. 3 are obverse and reverse of the same coin, and are chosen XII. 3.
probably as a memorial of the sea-victory of Demetrius over Ptolemy near Cyprus in B. C. 306. It is conjectured by Conze, Hauser and Benndorf[2] that this victory was also commemorated by a trophy raised on the island of Samothrace and consisting of a prow surmounted by the noble figure of Victory now in the Louvre; and further that our coin is intended as a copy of that trophy. The writers mentioned shew that the figure of the Louvre was in the same attitude as that on the coin, and held the same attributes, a trumpet in one hand and in the other a frame or stand for a trophy; also that the vessel on which she stood was in all respects similar to that of the coin. Certainly this is sufficient proof that the coin was copied from the sculptural trophy, unless the trophy follows the coin, in spite of small differences between the two in the pose and the arrangement of drapery. This being almost the only instance in which there has come down to us besides the copy of a statue on coins the original statue so copied, it would be worth while to institute a careful comparison between the two, a comparison which would shew clearly what method the Greeks of the third century followed in imitating on coin-dies contemporary works of art. The copying is not so close as in Roman times, but it omits nothing essential, and only introduces varieties when almost compelled to do so by the change of form and material conditioning the work.

[1] Paus. II. 27. 2.

[2] *Archäolog. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, vol. II.

XII. 6. On No. 6, from Lamia in Thessaly, we have a seated figure of young Heracles, who rests on a rock and holds on his knee a bow in a case. This is also a work of the time of Demetrius, admirably worked out, yet possessing, at least to my eyes, something of formality and a set effect which does not meet us in
XII. 7. earlier works. On No. 7, from the Phthiotic Thebes, we have a Homeric subject, Protesilaus leaping armed from his vessel on to the Trojan shore. This is a more complicated subject than would have been attempted at an earlier time, and somewhat unfit for the field of a coin. The small size of the galley is obviously necessary because of the restrictions of space; and has in it nothing repugnant to Greek ideas of art, which make more account of moral than material
XII. 8. size in proportioning works. On No. 8, from Oeta in Thessaly, is a Heracles in quite a new position, facing the spectator and holding a club transversely. The attitude of the hero is less sculptural than usual; we may compare it with that
XIV. 22. assumed by the same hero on Bactrian coins of late date, as pl. XIV. No. 22.
XII. 9. On No. 9 we have a type which long remained unexplained, and which is of great interest. It is a close copy of an ancient statue of Hermes from Aenus. The deity is a mere terminal block surmounted by a head, and is set up on an elaborate and massive throne, the arms of which end in heads of rams and rest on sphinxes. We have literary evidence that archaic statues of deities, the Apollo of Amyclae for instance, were set up in some way on thrones on which their forms would certainly not allow them to sit, and this fact has frequently puzzled archaeologists; this coin furnishes us at once with a clue to the mystery, shewing that the simulacrum was commonly erected in an upright attitude on the seat of the throne.

XII. 10. On No. 10 we have a Victory from a gold coin of Alexander the Great. The gold coins of Philip had borne on one side a head of Ares, on the other
VII. 30, 38. a chariot, pl. VII. 30, 38. These types were by no means suited to the ambitious and soaring mind of Alexander. Ares, the champion of Troy, was naturally distasteful to a prince who claimed, through his mother who was a princess of the Molossians, descent from Achilles, and it was scarcely to be expected of Alexander that he should try to immortalize the chariot-victories of his father. So he chose entirely new types for his gold coin, placing on the obverse a head of Pallas the patroness of the besiegers of Ilium, and on the reverse a figure of Nike. It was to Zeus, Pallas and Nike that Alexander sacrificed before the battle of Issus. But the Nike of Alexander was not what figures of that goddess on coins had hitherto nearly always been, a memorial of peaceful victories in the games. She is purely warlike, carrying in one hand a wreath for the victor, and in the other a trophy-stand to which when planted in the earth might be nailed the armour of enemies, cf. pl. XI. 21.

A trophy-stand is also borne by the Victory of No. 4, and a similar stand by

the Nymph Histiaea seated on the stern of a ship on the coin of Histiaea in Euboea, No. 11. This last figure is beautifully executed as regards drapery, and is a favourable specimen of the class of figures on galleys which become at this age common, cf. Nos. 4, 35. The allusion in all these types is no doubt to naval victories won, part of a ship, whether the acrostolium, the stern, or the prow, being ordinarily part of a naval trophy. In the choice of the figure which is seated on these galleys we have a fresh instance of the same kind of symbolism which we discerned in the case of the Sicilian chariots of pl. VI. Sometimes it is Victory herself; sometimes it is a more direct representative of the victorious king or city. On the coin of Histiaea it is the Nymph Histiaea herself, the natural embodiment of the city which bore her name. On the Macedonian coin of Antigonus, No. 35, it is Apollo, who was probably regarded by the king as his special guardian deity. In all these cases the design of the coin is such as would suit a larger object, such as a trophy set up on shore as a memorial of victory.

XII. 11. XII. 4, 35.

On No. 12 is a seated Pallas from the coins of Lysimachus, king of Thrace, a figure quite in the style of the seated state-deities of the period. The Victory in her hand is crowning, by a favourite conceit of the period, the name of Lysimachus himself: thus indicating the connexion between goddess and king. No. 13 is a very peculiar type. It is from Uranopolis, a Macedonian city, founded by Alexarchus, brother of King Cassander, a man of noted eccentricity, about whom Athenaeus tells strange tales[1]. Some of this eccentricity has infected our coin. It bears a figure of Aphrodite Urania seated on a globe. On her head is a cone surmounted by a star, in her right hand a sceptre bound with fillets; and by her side a second cone surmounted by a star. On the other side of the coin is a radiate globe[2]. We have here a number of allegorical representations of the heavenly bodies. The cone surmounted by a star seems to symbolize the sun and the sun seems also to be more exactly and physically portrayed in the globe surrounded by rays. It is evident that Alexarchus attached some curious meaning of his own to the figure of Aphrodite Urania, who was to him rather an embodiment of fanciful ideas than the historical goddess adopted by Greeks from Phoenicians. The allegorizing tendency is found in other statues of the period such as the Καιρὸς of Lysippus; but never more markedly than in our coin. In all probability the design is copied from a well-known work of sculpture.

XII. 12. XII. 13.

Turning next to heads, we will begin with those which are ideal, and afterwards come to portraits. There will be found on the plate four effigies of Zeus, one from Boeotia, No. 14, one from Thessaly, No. 17, one from Elis, No. 25, one from Achaia, No. 33. Nos. 14 and 25 are nothing but inferior speci-

XII. 14, 17. XII. 25, 33.

[1] III. 20.

[2] *Cat. Gr. Coins*, Macedon, pp. XXXII, 133.

mens of the type which has been already discussed when it occurred on a coin
VIII. 37. of Arcadia pl. VIII. 37. No. 17 differs in the length of the moustache and the spare and pointed form of the beard, in which respects it resembles the head on
V. 39. the coin of Alexander of Epirus, pl. V. 39. No. 33 is remarkable for the shortness of the hair. We must not however reason from these varieties that a special form of Zeus is intended at this city or that; probably it is merely a
XII. 15. question of artists and local style. On No. 15, a coin in remarkably high relief, we have a notable head of Heracles from a silver coin of Alexander the Great. The face is meaningless and heavy, but the work of the head of the hero and especially of his lion's skin is executed in a masterly way. In fact the specimen combines the greatest skill in execution with poverty in design, and may be considered in these respects as representative of the period to which it belongs.

XII. 26. On No. 26 is a head of Hera with the ethnic Γαλείων written on the
XII. 27,28. stephanos which binds her hair. Nos. 27 and 28, from Corinth, present us with heads of the armed Corinthian goddess of less noble type than those which we
VIII. 42, 43. have already noticed, pl. VIII. 42, 43. But No. 27 is redeemed from insignificance by the exquisite figure which it bears of Eros riding on a dolphin and nursing his knee, a very early and charming example of the playful treatment of Eros which becomes more and more usual from the time of Lysippus onwards to Roman times and those of the Renaissance. But on our coin Eros is not yet a
XII. 29. mere baby, but a graceful stripling full of life and activity. No. 29, from Her-
XI. 15. mione in Argolis, is a head of Persephone which may be compared with pl. XI. 15 as regards facial angle as well as brightness of countenance, although the
XII. 30,31. present coin is less elaborate. On Nos. 30, 31 are two heads of young Ammon, with the ram's horn, the former from Cyrene the latter from Tenos. The contrast between the two is striking, the Cyrenean coin being far more beautiful and finished; yet they are nearly contemporary and furnish us with an instance to shew that often in judging of the age of coins we must look above mere detail. The Tenian coin certainly shews a tendency to approximate to the type of Alexander the Great, whose favourite character was that of the son of Zeus Ammon.

XII. 32. On No. 32 is a pleasing head of a Nymph from Paros, one of those types which belong entirely to the decline yet have a vigour and freshness sometimes wanting at a better period.

XII. 16, 18—20. We now return to the group in the third line of the plate, Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20, which serves well to illustrate the origin of portraits in Greece in the Lysippean age. The head of Heracles from Alexander's coin, No. 15, is entirely ideal; but it is well known that this type undergoes in the course of years a remarkable transformation; the eye becomes sunk and the forehead more furrowed, the hair arches from the brow in wavy masses and the whole expression changes

until we reach a type approaching the head of Alexander himself as it is presented to us on the coins of his general Lysimachus, of which No. 16 is among the finest specimens known. Of the later type an indifferent specimen will be found below on a coin of Aetolia, No. 42. And as I have already pointed out the heads of Achilles, of Dionysus, and of Zeus himself become more or less transformed into the image of the Macedonian king. At the same time a somewhat opposed tendency is also at work. Not only do deities assume human lineaments, but human beings when they take their place on coins always at first assume the character of some divinity.

XII. 16.

XII. 42.

The whole subject of Greek portraits is full of difficulty, and a careful work dealing with the matter is one of the most pressing needs of archaeology. The work of Visconti[1] is out of date and thoroughly uncritical; yet we are still obliged to use it in the absence of any more recent treatise. The most satisfactory remarks of modern archaeology are those of Michaelis *à propos* of the portrait of Thucydides at Holkham Hall[2]; but they open rather than close the discussion. Michaelis observes that we possess a few portraits of the Periclean age, those of Pericles himself, of Thucydides and Euripides, which appear to be contemporary in design at least, and shew in their style the ideal spirit of early Greek art. In them the sculptor contents himself with reproducing what is essential in the head before him, passing by all which bears a temporary or fortuitous character. Such details as the formation of the surface of the skin and the momentary arrangement of the hair he entirely disregards. In the portraits of Alexander also, the same writer proceeds, we find similar treatment. 'They almost entirely disregard the fortuitous details of actual life, and follow, 'though with full freedom of handling, the more rigid rules of artistic style, 'which still prevailed, at least in some degree, in the Hellenistic period, for 'ideal portraits. The sculptor of Alexander's portraits seems as it were to stop 'short at flesh. But in portraits of a later time the skin plays a most impor-'tant part.' In these later portraits, of which those of Demosthenes and Menander are typical specimens, we see more sharply-defined individuality combined with a striving after pictorial effect, and a taste for naturalistic reproduction of personal peculiarities, the details of hair, skin and so forth.

The distinctions here drawn are fully justified by the evidence of coins. On these before the time of Alexander the Great there are but two heads so far as I know which have any pretensions to be regarded as portraits. One is a head in a Persian tiara, of which there is a good representation on pl. X. 14, and which was discussed in its place[3]. The head is obviously of a fine ideal type

X. 14.

[1] *Iconographie Grecque.*

[2] *Festschrift zur vierten Secularfeier der Univ. Tübingen*, 1877, p. 10.

[3] Above, p. 144.

without any impress of personal peculiarities. Other bearded heads in Persian tiara occur on coins struck by various satraps. They may be intended for the head of a Persian divinity; but more probably they are intended to represent the Great King, not as a personage but as an abstraction. The artist having no idea what the Persian monarch was like would simply reproduce his ideal of what a highly born Persian ought to be. If the result was better in type than the head of the reigning monarch would strictly warrant, so much the better. At any rate we have in these cases no true instance of an individual portrait. The other instance of an apparent portrait on a pre-Alexandrine coin occurs on
X. 42. pl. X. No. 42, which for reasons already stated[1] I can scarcely bring myself to admit as the only instance of an individualized portrait at the period.

If we consider the history and exploits of Alexander we shall hardly wonder that his contemporaries looked on him as a god. And it is as a god that he found a place on the coins issued by his marshals. He claimed to be the son of Zeus Ammon; so when he appears on the money of Ptolemy and of Lysi-
XII. 16. machus, No. 16, he bears the ram's horn which specially belonged to the Libyan god[2]. For some time all the heirs of Alexander's empire contented themselves with reproducing the divinized head of their master. But towards the year B.C. 300 they began themselves to assume a divinity very convenient for purposes of state. And becoming thus divine, they could not longer scruple to place their own heads on their money. Thus we have at this period a head of
XII. 19. Demetrius Poliorcetes as Bacchus, with bull's horn, No. 19, a head of Ptolemy
XIV. 8. with the aegis of Zeus, a head of Seleucus helmeted, pl. XIV. 8, also wearing the horn of Dionysus, and with the lion-skin of Heracles knotted round his neck. And as the kings of the time are assimilated to deities, so their features are idealized and toned down. We find scarcely one or two real portraits of the contemporaries of Alexander.

As kings appear as gods so do their queens in the guise of goddesses on
XII. 18. coins. The head from Ambracia on No. 18, which one would take for that of Hera or Dione, has yet something in it so human that we may fairly suppose that it is intended at the same time to represent some queen. It is indeed
XI. 27. much like the head of Phthia on coins of Pyrrhus, pl. XI. 27. The very re-
XII. 20. markable head on the coin of Lamia, No. 20, is in all probability intended, as I have elsewhere maintained[3], for the celebrated beauty of the same name as the city, Lamia, the wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was worshipped under the

[1] Above, p. 175.

[2] It would seem, as Mr Poole informs me, that in doing so Alexander only copied the example set about four centuries earlier by Tirhaka, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, who conquered Libya, and whose portrait bears a ram's horn just like Alexander's.

[3] *Num. Chron.* 1878, p. 266.

name of Aphrodite in various cities of Greece, and so might well appear on Thessalian coins of the period. Between her head and that of Demetrius placed next to it there is a remarkable general artistic likeness, indicating that both belong to one period, and to one class of coins. The reverse of No. 19 is No. 2, and of No. 20, No. 6. XII. 19, 2. XII. 20, 6.

These facts seem to me to illustrate the thesis of Michaelis from a fresh point of view, and to give a reason why the portraits of Alexander and the Diadochi are formed on the lines of earlier rather than of later Greek art. In the next period we shall find portraits individual to the last degree, and full of naturalistic detail.

Asia Minor.

We pass next to the coins of Asia Minor on pl. XIII. On No. 1, from Amastris on the Euxine, we have a seated female figure of queenly type. On our coin she wears a stephanos and holds in one hand a long sceptre, in the other a figure of Victory. We should have supposed the deity represented to be Hera, but for a variant coin in the collection of M. Six in which she holds in her hand in the place of Victory a small Eros. This coin however also bears not the name of the city but of the Queen Amastris by whom it was built and whose name it bore. It would seem then that the seated deity who combines the attributes of Hera and of Aphrodite is really but the deified mortal foundress whom her subjects in the taste of the time established in a temple and invested with the attributes of the chief deities of Olympus. It would be easy to quote from history a score of instances of such deification, but the statues in which the idea was embodied have usually perished, so that our coin is the more interesting. XIII. 1.

Of Zeus-like type are the two figures of Dionysus in our plate, the standing figure from Nagidus, No. 2, and the seated figure from Heraclea, No. 4. The god of Nagidus is evidently the same nature-deity as is found at Tarsus and other cities, who was identified alternately with Zeus and Dionysus, pl. X. 30. But the figure from Heraclea is more original. The god holds in one hand his wine-cup, in the other an ivy-bound thyrsus, but he is of youthful type; evidently a figure of the new style placed on the throne and in the attitude of some older cultus-statue. On No. 3, from Pergamon, we have a close rendering of an archaic Palladium, with a closed trunk in the place of legs. On No. 5, from Aspendus, we have the old type of the slinger, cf. pl. X. No. 10; but his movement is freer, and in the field is one of those winged male figures which become common in art after the time of Alexander. This figure here is expres- XIII. 2. XIII. 4. X. 30. XIII. 3. XIII. 5. X. 10.

sively introduced; he is looking in the direction in which the slinger aims, and his attitude expresses his surprise at the distance to which the missile is sent.

XIII. 6. No. 6, which bears the names of two kings of Heraclea in Pontus, Timotheus and Dionysius, offers us a type very characteristic of the period, Heracles the eponymous deity of the city erecting a trophy, no doubt in memory of some victorious war. This is a pious device for giving the credit of the success to Heracles. In the same way Pan is represented as setting up a trophy, on coins of Antigonus Gonatas, in memory of the panic flight of the Gauls from Delphi.

XIII. 7. On No. 7 we have a head of Apollo from Colophon, on No. 8 an effigy of the
XIII. 8.
XIII. 9. same god from Miletus, on No. 9 a head of Dionysus from Heraclea. These heads are chiefly noteworthy as shewing how the custom of representing the younger members of the Pantheon with long hair returned at this period, after having for a time almost disappeared, and as giving instances of the way in which

XIII. 10. it was arranged. On No. 10, from Berytus in Troas, is a young head wearing a conical pileus surmounted by a star. If we were guided by considerations of origin we might probably see in it one of the Cabeiri of Samothrace; but in the days of rapid spread of Hellenism the people of Troas would probably rather

XIII. 11. call it one of the Dioscuri. The head on No. 11 has been regarded as a portrait of Amastris, wife of Lysimachus, coming as it does from the city which bore her name. If so, she would be here figured as divine foundress. I suspect however that the head is male, and intended to represent some Persian deity of youthful type, such as Mithras or Mên. It is clearly not much like the

XIII. 12. head of the statue of Amastris, No. 1. We have, however, certainly on No. 12, the head of a foundress, of Arsinoe, one of the queens of Lysimachus, after whom he renamed the city of Ephesus which he enlarged and fortified. This is an Ephesian coin. The portrait is somewhat idealized like almost all other portraits of the period; yet there clearly seems to be an intention to represent a person; the hair is arranged in the style of the Egyptian queens, the veil too is worn rather in the manner of Greek matrons than of deities like Hera

XIII. 13. and Demeter. No. 13 is also from Ephesus, and of nearly the same period; but here the head is of Artemis, and of a specially charming type. The expression is very pleasing and as an instance of the care with which details are rendered I may mention the earring, which consists of a winged figure, Nike or Eros. At an earlier period we have on the coins of Ephesus only the symbolical bee and stag; at a later period we have the barbarous many-breasted image which is so well known; only in the century which began with Alexander's invasion were Hellenic ideas so prevalent in Asia that even the barbaric deity of Ephesus appears in the form of the Greek Artemis whose name was so inaccurately applied to her[1].

[1] Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*, passim.

The East.

In plate XIV. we reach a region which is new to us. Syria and Asia did indeed issue coins long before the time of Alexander, but as these do not clearly display Greek influence, and as we are restricted to what is of Hellenic origin, I passed them by in silence. But under Alexander and the Seleucidae, Asia as far as the Ganges begins to become in most outward respects Hellenic; certainly, if we may judge from our coins, Hellenic as regards art. On No. 1, XIV. 1. which bears the name of Seleucus I., we have a figure of Victory setting up a trophy, which is not however very original compared with a parallel group in Sicily, pl. XI. 21. The Victory on another coin of Seleucus, No. 3, is merely an XI. 21. XIV. 3. enlarged copy of a type of Alexander, pl. XII. 10. The Pallas on No. 2 is XII. 10. important in many ways. The coin bears the name of Andragoras, who would XIV. 2. seem to have been a ruler in central Asia early in the third century; and is thus interesting as a historical record; but the figure of Pallas is also remarkable. The goddess wears no aegis but is wrapped in a himation, and holds an owl in her extended hand. I am not aware of any figure on extant coins which is closely like this; we may however compare the coin of Side, pl. X. No. 7, X. 7. where Athene holds as here an owl. No. 4, from Sidon, and No. 5, from Tyre, XIV. 4, 5. scarcely properly belong to our subject. The king in his chariot on the former coin, and the king slaying a lion on the latter do not remind us of Greek works, but of Assyrian mural reliefs, and have in them scarcely any trace of Greek influence. But this fact, their date being fairly certain, makes them really more interesting. It shews that the cities of Phoenicia were the last strongholds of oriental art, and suggests that they held out longest against the new Greek ideas. But coins of Alexander were issued from Phoenician mints; and in the next age the legends and types of the coins of Sidon and Tyre are alike Hellenic.

On No. 6, a copper coin of King Seleucus, we have a head of Medusa in XIV. 6. profile. It would be interesting to trace on coins the gradual softening with time of the grim Gorgon-head of early art, pl. I. 6, until it becomes milder and I. 6. not unpleasing. But with the present piece we reach an entirely new departure. The full-face head could be softened but not made positively beautiful, but when turned into profile it could become quite a new inspiration in art. A dying face of rigid and fixed beauty is the form in which the head of Medusa appears in reliefs like the celebrated Ludovisi relief as well as on several remarkable

gems; our coin is higher up in the line of descent, and presents a living face instead of a dying one. It gives us therefore a fixed chronological datum whence to judge of other heads of the class. It is I imagine the earliest of all profile-
XIV. 7. heads of Medusa. On No. 7, from a coin of Andragoras, we have a head of a deity, probably Zeus, but treated in a remarkable manner. There is something oriental about the formality of hair and beard; yet we trace far more expression than is to be found in Oriental or in earlier Greek works. Perhaps the nearest
XIV. 26. approach to it is found in the Zeus-head of Antiochus IV., No. 26. On No. 8
XIV. 8. we have a much idealized portrait of Seleucus in helmet of skin, of which I have
XIV. 9. already spoken; on No. 9 a less ideal portrait of an Indian prince Sophytes[1]. In outward style this prince's head is closely copied from that of his suzerain Seleucus, but the Greek artist who made the die managed to give to the head something of individualism: we even fancy it to be of Indian rather than Greek
XIV. 10. character. No. 10 is the reverse of No. 9, and bears the name of Sophytes
XIV. 11. with the type of a cock, also clearly executed by a Greek artist. On No. 11 is a head of Dionysus very characteristic of the period. The turn of the shoulders and the type of head are distinctly post-Alexandrine. The god has the horns of a bull; and in this fact we probably gain a clue to the phenomenon that bull's horns are attributed so freely to men and animals on the coins of the period. The heads of Demetrius and Seleucus are both horned, and horses and elephants are also horned on the coins of Seleucus. It seems likely that the two kings mentioned claimed to be impersonations of Dionysus the great Eastern Conqueror of whom Alexander found so many traces in the East; and hence even the animals which ministered to the state of Seleucus partook of Dionysiac character. I am of course aware that it was from Apollo and not from Dionysus that the Seleucidae claimed descent; and that from the time of Antiochus I. downwards Apollo regularly appears on their coins as protecting deity. But as Apollo is by no means prominent on the money of Seleucus, it would seem that his adoption of that god belongs rather to the later than the earlier part of his career. The head of the horned horse, which figures so largely
XIV. 12. on coins of Seleucus, will be found on No. 12. Some writers think that he was intended for Bucephalus, some for Seleucus' own horse, which had once saved his life by its speed of foot, and of which a statue was erected at Babylon. Perhaps preferable to either of these views is the opinion that the horned horse is merely an oriental religious emblem; and the horns as just suggested may have been by the Greeks connected with Dionysus.

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1866, p. 220.

Copies of Statues.

To the present period belongs an interesting statue copied on the coin of Tigranes, King of Syria, xv. 32. It represents the city of Antioch wearing a turreted crown, and clad in full drapery. In her hand she holds a palm, and her feet rest on the river Orontes who swims amid his own waters at her feet. This is the celebrated statue made by Eutychides the pupil of Lysippus, of which several copies exist; that in the Vatican has called forth the strongest expressions of admiration from Prof. Brunn[1]. It seems to have become the prototype of a large class of statues which are copied on the coins of a multitude of Asiatic cities; and is indeed in all respects thoroughly characteristic of its age. xv. 32.

[1] *Gr. Künstler*, i. 412, cf. Overbeck, *Plastik*, ii. 135.

CHAPTER VII.

Period of Decline:—late.

With our present period, B. C. 280—146, we reach a time when the balance of the Hellenic world is entirely shifted. We can now expect little of interest from the West or even from Hellas proper. But when we turn to Asia and the East, we shall find this deficiency more than made up. Hitherto, the types of coins have been useful as illustrating works of contemporary art, sometimes filling up blank spaces indeed, but to be taken in conjunction with the statements of ancient writers and fitted into a fairly complete scheme of the growth and development of Greek art. But now we have reached a time when ancient testimonies for the most part fail us, and when the history of Greek art runs an unknown course. Although many monuments of the time remain to our days, we cannot even yet, in spite of recent discoveries, classify them to our satisfaction; the widest differences of opinion exist among savants as to their date and origin and even their meaning. Under such circumstances the testimony of coins becomes more valuable than ever. Unfortunately their art is at a low level, far below that reached by contemporary sculpture, and especially by painting. And there is frequently much about them of a purely conventional and heraldic character. But these drawbacks notwithstanding, we may find in coins most important data for the reconstruction of the history of Greek art, more especially in Asia, in pre-Roman days, data which as yet have been seldom sufficiently extracted. Indeed there is here a field of almost unexplored wealth; and I shall be able in my brief limits to do little more than indicate where the veins of ore lie, and to exhibit a few specimens to shew what may be expected from working them.

Italy.

In Italy and Sicily there are few coins of importance of this period. I have collected some specimens in the two last rows of pl. XI. Of all the most inter-
XI. 40. esting is that of Locri of which the obverse bears a rude head of Zeus, No. 40,

and the reverse a group of two female figures, No. 34. The seated figure is armed with a sword and rests her arm on a shield. An inscription behind shews that she is an impersonation of Rome, one of the earliest of all artistic representations of the great conquering city. In front of Rome stands a draped female figure who places a wreath on her head, and who is shewn by the inscription to be Good-faith (Πίστις). This is a fair specimen of a class of allegorical groups which were excessively common in all cities in later days of Greece, and it is a good and dignified composition. The figure of Rome is of the same kind as that of Aetolia in pl. XII., No. 40. It is evidently to the Greeks that the Romans were indebted for the artistic embodiment of their city which afterwards became so common and has prevailed in sculpture down to our own day. That Rome does not in our group wear a helmet probably arises from the incongruity between such a head-covering and the wreath offered by Pistis. On what occasion the type was adopted we cannot say for certain; it may have been when the Romans, after the complete defeat of Pyrrhus, allowed the people of Locri to retain their autonomy, or it may possibly belong to the time of a later alliance[1]. XI. 34. XII. 40.

Nos. 35 to 39 are all coins of the Bruttii, a barbarous Italian people who at this time conquered most of the Hellenic cities of South Italy, and probably from them gathered a certain amount of civilization and a few ideas as to art. Their coins are neatly executed, and the types are mostly copied from those used by Pyrrhus and other Greek sovereigns. On No. 35 is a group closely copied from that of Thetis bearing arms to Achilles on Pyrrhus' coin, No. 2. But closely, almost slavishly, as the group is reproduced, its meaning is entirely changed. In place of the shield of Achilles it substitutes a small Eros discharging an arrow, and the veiled goddess is no longer Thetis, but either Aphrodite or Amphitrite. The introduction of the Eros is distinctly characteristic of the later period; and his form, rounded and infantile, is of far later type than children of the times of Praxiteles and Scopas. So that while the type of Pyrrhus (XI. 2) may be taken as representative of the school of Scopas, we seem in the present coin to reach a subsequent method of treatment of the class of subjects which had been usual with that master. I would venture to suggest in passing, although with great diffidence since Prof. Brunn takes the opposite view[2], that the celebrated relief at Munich representing the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite is far nearer in conception to the Bruttian coin than to that of Pyrrhus, a fact which would seem to offer us a hint that the relief may be of the third century and perhaps of Italian origin. The character and forms of the Erotes in it appear to agree better with a later age than with XI. 35—39. XI. 2.

[1] Overbeck, *Kunstmythol.* II. 100.

[2] Munich Academy, 1876, *Philos.-philol. Classe*, p. 342.

that of Scopas. These remarks however are a mere suggestion offered to the consideration of those who are more nearly concerned with the Munich relief. As the coins of the Bruttii are almost entirely marine in their types, the seated
XI. 39. goddess is probably meant for Amphitrite[1]. Of this deity No. 39 presents us with an effigy, but the effigy might as well stand for Hera or Dione, as there is nothing distinctive about it. Far more originality belongs to the representa-
XI. 38,36. tions of the Dioscuri on coins of the Bruttians; the heads on No. 38 and the whole figures on No. 36. These are good specimens of the Italo-Greek art of the period; being very neatly and clearly cut, and having a tasteful appearance, but not being marked by vigour or power. It seems strange that the Bruttii should have appropriated the Dioscuri who had been at that time so thoroughly adopted by the Romans; but it is probable that, as Mommsen suggests, these coins being used by all the cities of the extreme south of Italy were authorized
XI. 37. by the Romans. The figure of Poseidon on No. 37 seems clearly to be copied
XII. 2. from that on the coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, pl. XII. 2, unless indeed both are derived from some common original.

Sicily.

Sicily was during our period, or rather until shortly before the Roman conquest of B.C. 212, a kingdom with Syracuse as capital, and presents us with a regular series of regal coins bearing excellent portraits of King Hiero and
XI. 43. members of his family. On No. 43 is a head of Hiero himself; for so we must rather call it than a traditional likeness of the first Hiero, who would probably have been represented as bearded like his contemporaries Miltiades, Themistocles and Pericles. The head before us quite goes with the realistic portraits of the period, and is indeed superior to most of them. The head of Queen Philistis,
XI. 44. No. 44, is less skilfully executed, and has far less of realism about it. This difference between male and female portraits is usual. Until the Roman Empire no heads of ladies on coins are quite distinctive, with the solitary exceptions of
XII. 20. the head of the courtezan Lamia, pl. XII. 20, and of that of the great Cleopatra. It is likely that the artists had but limited opportunities for studying the physiognomies of most queens, and were influenced by a not unnatural dread of making them less beautiful than utmost skill allowed. And it is at once evident why to a rule of this kind exceptions should be found in the cases of Lamia and Cleopatra, who were not of a character to conceal the charms they

[1] Imhoof-Blumer in Overbeck's *Kunstmyth.*, III. 404.

possessed. The reverses of the two numbers last mentioned are occupied by chariot-types, Nos. 45, 46, which are certainly an improvement on those of the last period, and revert in some degree to the variety and energy of the chariot-groups of the best period, pl. VI. The driver is a winged Victory. Nos. 41 and 42 belong to the last three years of Syracusan autonomy. On No. 42 is a head of Persephone of carefully finished work, but bearing every mark of the decline. On No. 41 is a figure of Artemis drawing the bow, a most clumsy and ill-proportioned work, which is only interesting because its place and date can be closely fixed, and because it may claim a certain distant cousinship to the Artemis of the Louvre, which though immeasurably superior in all points to the figure of the coin yet has indications not dissimilar of period and school.

XI. 45, 46.

XI. 41, 42.

Hellas.

We turn next to the coins of Hellas proper on pl. XII. Of these very few are coins of cities; nearly all are either of Kingdoms or Federal Unions. On No. 34 from Byzantium is Poseidon seated on a rock, holding in one hand an aplustre, in the other his trident. This figure symbolizes well the commanding naval position of the city and the prowess of the people of Byzantium, who at one time made all ships which entered the Euxine pay toll to them. No. 35, a coin variously attributed to Antigonus Gonatas and to Antigonus Doson[1] of Macedon, is certainly also a record of naval victory. It bears a figure of Apollo holding a bow, seated on the bulwarks of a war-galley. The obverse of the piece is a head of Poseidon, No. 41; but that it is not out of the way to associate Apollo also with naval victory we may see by comparing the coin of Marathus, pl. XIV. 13. There we have Apollo seated on shields and holding aplustre. But the present Apollo reminds us alike by his hair which falls in long formal tresses, by his way of holding the bow, and by the smooth roundness of his slight form, of the regular type of the coins of the Seleucidae, an Apollo seated on the omphalos. Possibly the naval victory may have been the result of a Syrian alliance. But in any case the group is not a success from the point of view of art.

XII. 34.

XII. 35.

XII. 41.

XIV. 13.

On the Thessalian coin, No. 36, we have a figure of Pallas of the conventional archaic pattern, and without the refinements introduced by the artist of Pyrrhus, in pl. XI. 22. On the Boeotian coin, No. 37, we have a copy of the Nike of Alexander's coin, No. 10, with a slight difference in the arrangement

XII. 36.

XI. 22.
XII. 37.
XII. 10.

[1] See *Br. Mus. Guide*, p. 75.

of the wings, and the interesting variety that the trophy-stand in the left hand of the goddess is replaced by a trident, an attribute in better keeping with the Boeotian types of the period which are almost universally nautical. On the
XII. 38. Aetolian piece, No. 38, we have a male figure in the attitude so usual at this period, and especially appropriated to Poseidon. But there is nothing Poseidonian in the present figure, which is entirely unclad save for a petasus and a chlamys which lies over the knee, but is armed with spear and sword. The scantiness of clothing and completeness of arming would well suit an impersonation of the poor and warlike race of the Aetolians. But as Aetolia is represented usually in female form, we should probably rather identify our warrior with Meleager the
XII. 40. national Aetolian hero. Of Aetolia herself we have a figure on No. 40. She is clad in a hat and a short chiton which falls away leaving one breast free (*χιτὼν ἑτερομάσχαλος*), and holds spear and sword. Beneath her feet is a Gaulish trumpet, and the shields on a pile of which she is seated are mostly of Gaulish type although one of them is round and of distinctly Macedonian pattern. It is clear that the allusion here is to the services rendered to Greece by the Aetolians at the time of the great Gaulish invasions of B.C. 279, when these mountaineers shamed the more civilized tribes of Greece by their daring defiance of the intruders, as well as to the repulse on several occasions of Macedonian invasion. There is a close resemblance between our figure and that statue of Aetolia which Pausanias[1] mentions as set up at Delphi, *γυναικὸς ἄγαλμα ὡπλισμένης, ἣ Αἰτωλία δὴθεν*, in memory of Gaulish attack. This then is distinctly a creation of the period, and a proof that art was not entirely inactive even in
XII. 39. the ruder parts of Greece. On No. 39 from Acarnania, we have an Artemis running to the attack probably of some giant foe, and grasping in both hands a torch. She belongs to the same class of representations as the sculptures from Pergamon at Berlin, and may be nearly contemporary with them. On
XII. 50. No. 50 we have another figure of Artemis, from Cydonia in Crete, but this is a very inferior work; the clumsy pose of the goddess and the enormous size of
XII. 49. her torch indicate a late date. No. 49 is also from Crete, from the city of Gortyna; the representation is of a hunter seated, holding in his hand the
XII. 47. Cretan bow and arrows. On No. 47 we have a copy of the archaic figure of Zeus which the Messenians set up in their city and of which we have already
VIII. 25. spoken when discussing the coin pl. VIII. No. 25. In my opinion the present figure shews an intention to exactly reproduce an archaic type which is wanting in case of the earlier coin. The hardness of outline and stiffness of pose indicate this, although it must at the same time be confessed that there are points in our present coin, especially in the rendering of the head, which belong entirely to the decline. The tripod in the field seems to mark locality, and sum up in

[1] x. 18. 7.

brief the sacred spot where the statue of Zeus was set up. No. 48 is from the island of Paros, and represents Demeter fully draped, holding in one hand two ears of corn and in the other a sceptre, seated on the so-called *cista mystica*, about which not very much is known but that it was connected with the mysteries of Demeter and Dionysus. It is however one of the commonest objects on Asiatic coins of this time, and it is ordinarily represented with a serpent crawling out of it. Representations connected with mysteries are almost unknown on coins of earlier period; I can think only of the Eleusinian copper piece, pl. VII. 45, 48; but we have now reached the age of many religious innovations, a time when secret rites were in more general favour than public festivals. Paros was a seat of Eleusinian mysteries. XII. 48. VII. 45, 48.

Among the heads of this class perhaps the most remarkable is that of Poseidon on the Macedonian coin, No. 41. Poseidon in this instance by no means closely resembles Zeus. He is crowned with reeds or marine plants; and his hair falls in dank masses; he is clearly the impersonation of water rather than either the earth-shaker or the brother of Zeus. Indeed we might hesitate whether the head be not rather of a river-god than of Poseidon; it would far better suit such figures as those of Nile or Tiber, than the figure of the stormy monarch of the sea. On No. 42 is a head of Heracles from Aetolia, a late copy of the Alexandrine type No. 15, and only notable as having in it a touch of Alexander himself. On No. 43 is a head of Pallas from a late coin of Athens. There can be no doubt, poor and degraded as this head is, that it is intended to be a copy of the head of the statue of the Parthenos by Pheidias. A comparison with the recently discovered statuette will sufficiently assure this. Yet the decoration of the helmet is quite different; the winged horse appears at the side in both cases, but in the statuette the ornament above the brow takes the shape of a Sphinx[1]; in the coin this is wanting, but in its place, close over the forehead are front parts of four horses, and this detail is confirmed by the testimony of numerous coins of other cities, cf. pl. XIII. 27, and gems. I cannot but think that on the whole more reliance is to be placed on the positive testimony of our coin than on the negative evidence of the statuette; and for a good reason. When the Greeks copied a large work of art on a smaller scale they usually simplified the design, but they would not make it more complex. So in copying on a small scale the helmet of the Pheidian statue an artist might easily omit some of the decoration, but he would not decorate the front with fore-parts of horses unless something of the kind existed in the model. It is unlikely that the horses of the original were quite like those of the copy; XII. 41. XII. 42. XII. 15. XII. 43. XIII. 27.

[1] Sphinx and griffin are the decorations mentioned by Pausanias, I. 24, 5. But it appears that a winged horse takes the place of the griffin in the statuette and sometimes on coins. See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* II. p. 1.

rather it is probable that the horses on the coin are a sort of short-hand memorandum of something on the Pheidian helmet; and what that something may have been we cannot tell. Still I do not think Michaelis justified in passing so
XII. 44. lightly as he does[1] the testimony of our coins. On No. 44 are heads from Epirus of Zeus Naius and Dione, the original Dodonaean pair of Deities; perhaps the most primitive of all Hellenic Gods. Dione is in artistic representation much like Hera; she wears a round stephanos and wreath, and her
XII. 51. features are of a matronly character. On No. 51 from Elis we have a gloomy
XII. 52. and ill-executed head of the Olympian Zeus; on No. 52 from Messene an equally unfortunate effigy of Demeter, crowned with corn.

XII. 45, 46, 53. The three heads on Nos. 45, 46, 53 closely resemble each other. Yet their origin seems very different. No. 45, from a coin of Philip V. of Macedon, represents a round Macedonian buckler, with a head of the hero Perseus on the boss wearing winged helmet and accompanied by the harpa with which Medusa was slain. On No. 46 is a head of the Macedonian King Perseus; on No. 53 a head of Apollo slightly bearded, with bow and quiver at the shoulder, from Polyrenium in Crete. The head of King Perseus is a portrait and a very exact and characteristic one. That the other two heads are not ideal types, but represent men in the likeness of the hero Perseus and of Apollo is evident enough; for ideal heads of Perseus and Apollo would be unbearded; indeed a *barbatus Apollo* seems an anomaly under whatever pretence the beard is introduced. It would appear that the head on the shield is a slightly idealized portrait either of Philip V. or of his son Perseus; it is far more like the latter prince, and is probably intended for him. The Cretan head, No. 53, may perhaps be a more highly idealized portrait of the same prince at an earlier age; or it may represent some other person unknown to us. In any case these clear and indubitable instances of clothing men in the attributes of gods and embodying gods in the likeness of distinguished men are interesting, and thoroughly characteristic of the period.

Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor, as the rule of the Seleucidae became feebler, most of the great Hellenic cities regained their autonomy, and with it the right of striking coins. The result was the issue of a quantity of large flat silver pieces, bearing characteristic heads of Deities, and full-length figures, in many cases copies of

[1] *Der Parthenon*, p. 274.

statues of an earlier period. Most of these issues are immediately subsequent to the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 190, when the Romans gave liberty to many Asiatic cities. Besides these civic coins, we have from Pergamon, Pontus and the East, regal series with fine and realistic portraits of rulers, and with reverse types full of mythological interest.

On pl. XIII. No. 14, a coin of Prusias I. King of Bithynia, we have a standing figure of Zeus, who places a wreath, not on the head of the king indeed, but instead on his name, a conceit very usual at the period. The attitude of Zeus recurs on coins of various cities of Asia Minor and Syria at this time. XIII. 14. On No. 15 from Lampsacus we have a figure of Apollo Citharoedus, which looks like a feeble copy of the great work of Scopas, of which extant statues and coins give us an idea: only that on our coin the God is in a contemplative attitude, instead of moving forward in a fervour of musical inspiration. XIII. 15. On No. 16 is a copy of a statue of Athene Ilias, as the inscription fully testifies. If however we compare this representation with that, also from Ilium, on pl. XV. 13, we shall see, what is indeed evident enough, that we have in this case a copy not of the ancient cultus-statue of Athene, but of a later adaptation of it. I call it an adaptation because it preserves what is most characteristic in the original statue; the polus on the head and the attributes of spear and distaff, as well as the general attitude. But all else, notably the character of head and the arrangement of drapery, is completely changed. In all probability this new statue was set up in the days of Alexander the Great or of Antiochus I. who greatly favoured the Ilians. That the remodelling of the type is due to a sculptor and not to the artist who engraved our coin is, I think, fairly certain, if we consider the customs followed in this whole class of coins. XIII. 16. XV. 13. On No. 17 is an Apollo from Myrina, fully clad in chiton and himation, holding in one hand a laurel-bough bound with a fillet, the emblem of purification, in the other a patera the emblem of worship. At his feet is his own *omphalos*, covered with net-work. This figure is of Eastern Greek style, and may be compared with the Apollo of Alexandria Troas, pl. XV. 23, also fully draped. XIII. 17. XV. 23. In the centre of the city of Antioch was a statue of Apollo beside an omphalos, placed there apparently not so much as a copy of the Delphic deity; for indeed at Delphi there was no statue of Apollo by the omphalos; but rather merely to mark the centre of the city, to which all roads converged. It is possible that this coin of Myrina is copied from a similar statue in that city. On No. 19 is another Apollo with omphalos from Chalcedon; but here the god is naked and seated on the omphalos instead of standing beside it. In his hands are bow and arrow. XIII. 19. This type is closely copied from that usual on coins of the Seleucid Kings of Syria, and may probably have been adopted in consequence of the political influence of Antiochus III. The Seleucidae themselves however did not

originate it, but borrowed it from the money of Nicocles, king of Paphos, in Cyprus[1].

XIII. 18. On No. 18 is a seated Pallas, who places a wreath on the name of Philetaerus, king of Pergamon. Seated statues of this goddess, though not usual at Athens, occur in Asia from early times, as in pl. x. 33, and on coins of Lysi-

XIII. 20. machus, pl. XII. 12. In Asia the great goddesses are usually seated. On No. 20 we have a curious figure of an oriental god. By an oversight I have trans-

XIV. 17. ferred to pl. XIV., No. 17, a type that should have gone with this. Both coins were issued at Tarsus in Cilicia by Seleucid kings, and both represent the same object; the pyre annually erected at Tarsus, when there was burnt a figure of the god Sandan[2] identified on the one side with the King Sardanapalus, on the other with Heracles;—a remarkable custom, which gave rise to strange legends among the Greeks. On pl. XIV. 17 we have a representation of the entire pyre, which is not unlike in form to the pyres of Roman Emperors; on our No. 20 we have only the figure of Sandan which stood on it. The god is clad in loose oriental trousers, he holds in his hand a bipennis, and stands in a manner which some would perhaps regard as Hittite, but which it would be safer merely to term Anatolian, on a beast resembling a horned lion. Figures mounted on various animals and monsters are, as is well known, frequently met with in the rock-sculptures of Phrygia and Armenia. We have met at an earlier period, on pl. x.

X. 29. 29 a far more Hellenic rendering of Sardanapalus, who there seems almost ready to take his place among Greek Deities and Heroes; but now the oriental reaction has come, and he resumes his outlandish form even on coins bearing Greek legends. With regard to Sardanapalus himself and his connexion with the Assyrian pantheon we have here nothing to say; on this subject readers may consult Raoul Rochette's learned work *L'Hercule Assyrien*. On the gold coin of

XIII. 21. Erythrae, No. 21, we have a most singular compound, a figure of Artemis which combines the headdress of the Ephesian Deity and others of her class with the body of an ordinary Greek Artemis, the result being monstrous, although it may very well be a copy of a statue of the time. In the right hand is a spear; in the left the pomegranate, the symbol of fruitfulness which belongs especially

XIII. 22. to wedded goddesses, and ill suits Artemis in her Western form. On No. 22 from Smyrna is a figure of Homer (similar coins of copper bear his name); seated in a meditative attitude and holding on his knees a scroll. Obviously all portraits of Homer are the work of mere fancy, but this figure may serve to shew the manner in which poets were represented in sculpture in the second

XIII. 23. century B.C. On No. 23, a Bithynian coin bearing the name of Prusias, is a Centaur playing a lyre. Somewhat inconsistent with such employment is his

[1] Brandis, *Münzwesen*, pp. 269, 511.

[2] See K. O. Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, II. p. 100.

clothing, consisting of the skin of a wild beast. Centaurs are very rare on Greek coins; occurring on very early coins of Thrace, pl. III. 9, but scarcely elsewhere. III. 9. Here the lyre seems to shew that the Centaur is Cheiron, who was the instructor in music of Achilles.

Some of the heads on our plate are ideal; the last three are portraits. The ideal heads are almost all marked by the same characteristics. As regards execution they are in low relief but carefully finished and to most modern eyes pleasing; as regards artistic type, all shew a sloping nose and forehead and considerable expression. The hair alike of male and female deities is long and rolled into a ball at the back. No. 24 is an Artemis from Ephesus, a feebler XIII. 24. instance of the same type as No. 13, above: No. 29 is a head of the same XIII. 29. goddess from Magnesia, one of the most pleasing on our plate. Nos. 25 and 28 XIII. 25, 28. are heads of Apollo from Smyrna and Myrina respectively, both laureate. On No. 26 is a veiled head of Demeter from Chalcedon, a head into which some XIII. 26. pathos is thrown, No. 27 from Heracleia is a copy of the Athenian coins, XIII. 27. pl. XII. 43, which reproduce the head of the Parthenos of Pheidias; but is in XII. 43. style decidedly superior to them. On No. 30 from Lampsacus we have an ivy- XIII. 30. crowned head of Dionysus which seems to be a copy of something much earlier, the effigy being bearded, which is most unusual after Alexander's time, and the hair falling in formal curls. Possibly it may be meant for Priapus, the special deity of Lampsacus. On No. 31 is a head from Smyrna wearing turreted XIII. 31. crown. Whether we should rather consider this head to belong to an impersonation of the city of Smyrna, or to the Amazon who was venerated as its foundress, we cannot easily decide. More probable than either is the notion that the head is of Cybele who as Mater Sipylene was greatly venerated in the district, and to whom a turreted crown would be most appropriate. It is true, however, that impersonations of cities were at this time extremely common; also that on late Imperial coins of Smyrna the Amazon Smyrna does appear with this kind of headdress. On No. 32 from Cyzicus is a head crowned with XIII. 32. serrated laurel-leaves and certainly female, for part of a necklace is clearly visible. Mr Head[1] has suggested, with much plausibility, that it is a portrait of Apollonias, widow of Attalus I, of Pergamon, to whom her sons erected a temple at Cyzicus. Certainly the head has the appearance of being copied from that of a matron; the only thing which tells against the theory is the absence of the veil which Queens usually, if not invariably, wear. If to this it be replied that Apollonias is represented as a goddess rather than as a queen, the difficulty is not entirely removed, for those Deities with whom a queen would be identified, Hera and Demeter, are also veiled. But the laurel-wreath seems

[1] *Br. Mus. Guide*, p. 89.

to indicate Artemis; and it does not seem impossible that in Asia even a matron may have been deified in the form of Artemis.

XIII. 33–35. The three portraits which close the plate are respectively of Orophernes, King of Cappadocia, of Mithradates IV. of Pontus, ancestor of the great Mithradates, and of Prusias I., King of Bithynia.

The East.

We now enter the country east of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. Into this region Hellenism penetrated slowly, and less during the life of Alexander and his Generals than in the times of the early Seleucid Kings. In the last four rows of pl. XIV. we have a series of coins issued over an enormous extent of country, from Phoenicia on the west to India and the borders of China, mostly during the second century before our aera. In some of them we have native legends; but in all the art is almost purely Greek, shewing how complete was the victory everywhere of Greek customs and civilization over those of the natives.

XIV. 13. On No. 13 from Marathus in Phoenicia is a figure of Apollo seated on a pile of shields, holding aplustre and sceptre. The attributes of the God are unusual, and indicate that he was at Marathus identified with some marine or mercantile Divinity, but the type is evidently the work of a Greek artist and for the period excellent. The date expressed on the coin in Phoenician characXIV. 14. ters is supposed to correspond to B.C. 226. On No. 14, a coin of Antiochus IV. of Syria, is a figure of Zeus which is on good grounds supposed to be a copy of a statue set up by the King in the temple of the Daphnaean Apollo at Antioch, which was a reproduction of the colossus of Pheidias at Olympia[1]. But unfortunately the type of the coin is too conventional to give us any valuable information; for that we must turn to the coin of Elis, pl. XV. 19, of XIV. 15. which I have above spoken. On No. 15, a coin of Demetrius I. of Syria, we have an allegorical figure of Tyche or Fortuna sitting on a throne of which the leg is formed like a Victory[2], and holding sceptre and cornucopiae. Tyche might be the genius of a city or a country, but I conjecture that here she is the Fortune of the King Demetrius as in that case the sceptre would be specially

[1] Ammianus *Res Gestae* l. XXII. c. 13.

[2] It is usually termed a winged Siren, but in that case there seems to be no meaning in the device.

appropriate. She would be an embodiment of the destiny, the star, as we should say, of the King, and as his representative receive sacrifices and honours at Antioch. On No. 16, which is a Parthian coin of the reign of the great Parthian XIV. 16. conqueror Mithradates, dated B.C. 140, we have a figure of the Greek Heracles, holding wine-cup and club. It may astonish some readers to find a Greek legend containing the words Arsaces Philhellen, and a Greek Divinity on coins of the barbarous Parthians. But it was, as I have shewn elsewhere[1], a cardinal principle of the policy of the Parthians to figure as protectors of the Greek cities in their dominions, and to use Greek skill and civilization to perpetuate their dominion. Of No. 17 from Tarsus I have already spoken[2]. On No. 18 which XIV. 17. belongs to the reign of Demetrius Nicator is a remarkable archaic simulacrum XIV. 18. of Pallas holding a spear. On either side of her head is a star; the aegis instead of covering her breast falls stiffly down her back. This figure bears on the face of it a likeness to the Ephesian Artemis, and other Anatolian simulacra; the stars also bespeak a nature-goddess; yet helmet spear and aegis are all present. It does not appear that we have a copy of the Ilian Athene, rather I should imagine that our type is copied from some archaic statue of Pallas brought by Greek colonists from Macedon or from Asia Minor to a Syrian city, and there accepted as an embodiment of some local female deity. The coin deserves a more careful study than it has yet received.

We now pass still further east. Nos. 19 to 25 of our plate were all struck in Cabul and the Panjab, and furnish us with conclusive and interesting proof that the art of India was largely affected by that of the Greek invaders of the north, while on the other hand the art of the Greek conquerors was gradually warped by the pressure of Indian beliefs and customs, which appear more and more strongly on the coins as years go by; until we reach types which are neither Greek nor Indian, but contain elements borrowed from both nationalities Nos. 19, 21, 22, 23 which bear the names of the Graeco-Indian Kings Agathocles, Antimachus, Euthydemus and Eucratides respectively, belong to the first half of the second century B.C., and are almost purely Greek. On No. 19 is a Zeus XIV. 19. standing, holding in his hand an archaic figure of Artemis or Hecate with a torch in each hand. The figure of Zeus is facing, and in an attitude almost universal on coins of these kings, cf. Nos. 21, 22, that is to say with the weight of the body thrown on to one foot, and stooping for ease: an attitude indeed which seems to betray special influence in Asia of the School of Praxiteles. In India, scarcely any Greek Deity but Zeus is depicted as seated. On No. 21 is XIV. 21. a standing Poseidon, holding trident and palm bound with fillet, a type probably commemorative of a naval victory won by King Antimachus, which must

[1] *The Parthian Coinage;* Introduction. [2] p. 206.

however have been fought on the river Indus, as this King did not extend his rule to the Indian ocean. His name is not mentioned in history, but from his coins we can recover his date, the limits of his dominions and even some of the events of his reign. In Hellas coins *illustrate* history; but in North India they
XIV. 22. *are* history. On No. 22 we have a very slight figure of Heracles, holding in one hand club and lion's skin, in the other an ivy-wreath, and bearing a second ivy-wreath on his head. Of all Greek Divinities Heracles and Dionysus seem to have been most readily accepted by the people of the Cabul and Indus valleys;
XIV. 23. who possibly identified them with their own Krishna and Soma. On No. 23 are the Dioscuri, the Açvins of the Indians, charging on horseback, each bearing the palm of victory. Here again is clearly an allusion to a successful battle, probably one the success of which was due to cavalry.

XIV. 20. Nos. 20, 24, 25 are of somewhat later date, and shew more of Indian influence. No. 20 bears in Indian letters the name of a King Antialcides. Its type is a seated Zeus, on whose hand stands a Victory who bears a palm and holds out a wreath to an elephant, who lifts his trunk to receive it. No doubt this is a memorial of a victory due to elephants. It should be mentioned, as a very unusual thing, that Zeus here wears a chiton over his breast as well as his
XIV. 24, 25. usual himation round the loins. Nos. 24, 25 are two sides of the same copper coin, which is of the square shape peculiar to India, that is to say, cut out of a plate instead of being cast as a round blank. It was struck by one of the Scythian invaders who conquered the Greeks in the first century B.C., by name Maues. On the obverse is a seated Zeus, by whose side in place of the thunderbolt which we should expect, and which we find on similar coins of earlier kings, we see a male figure, evidently an impersonation of the thunderbolt which is indeed not entirely transmuted into his form, but partly appears over his head and at his sides. This is a very interesting invention of the Indo-Greeks. On the reverse of the coin, No. 25, is a goddess to whom we can scarcely venture to assign a Greek name, who holds a sceptre and wears a turreted crown, and is in the act of drawing a veil more closely about her bosom. In her dress however there is no trace of anything non-Hellenic.

At this point in the transmutation of Greek to Indian art we must stop, interesting as it would be to descend the line of art until we reached on Indo-Scythic and Hindu coins figures which have in them only a small proportion of Hellenic elements: but the subject deserves a special study and might occupy a separate treatise.

XIV. 27. The bust of Eros from a Syrian coin, No. 27, is introduced as an illustration of the increasing youthfulness of the god in the present period; also as an early instance of the substitution of busts for heads. On coins as in
XIV. 26. sculpture busts scarcely appear until the period of decline. On No. 26 is a

head of Zeus from a coin of Antiochus IV.; but the head is of Zeus only in part, really it is a portrait of Antiochus under the guise of Zeus, as may easily be seen on comparing it with the portrait on his other coins. Certainly the addition of a beard, not worn by Greek kings of the time, gives an altered look to the head, and there is in it a fresh accession of dignity. Nevertheless it is in the main a portrait; we should err in supposing it to be a copy of the head of the statue of the Olympian Zeus set up by Antiochus. In contrast to this instance where the human head is altered in order to suit divinity we may cite No. 28, where a portrait of Antiochus II. is turned into a head of Hermes by a slight modification of the features as well as by the addition of a wing. Next follow a series of ordinary portraits, No. 29 of Antiochus I. when old, No. 30 of Ptolemy II. of Egypt and his sister and wife Arsinoe, No. 31 of the Parthian Mithradates, bearded according to the custom of his country. Next come three wonderful heads of Greek kings of India, No. 32 of Antimachus, No. 33 of Euthydemus II., No. 34 of Eucratides. The flat hat worn by Antimachus seems to be a slight modification of the north Greek petasus, cf. pl. VII. 3—5 and pl. XII. 40; and the helmet worn by Eucratides seems to be an imitation of the same head-covering in metal, adorned with the horn and ear of a bull. These portraits impress by their realism alike those familiar with and those unacquainted with Greek art. Their most marked characteristic is the skill with which the engravers seize the most salient features of a face and give its characteristic expression. In some instances, such as the head of Antiochus I. XIV. 29, we can scarcely bring ourselves to think that the engraver has not exaggerated the peculiarities of the subject, almost to the verge of caricature. The portraits of the age are thus striking and distinctive, but we feel that they rather imitate that which is on the surface than afford us any idea of the real personage of the ruler who is portrayed. Of course for the highest kind of portraiture the field of a coin offers but scanty scope. Nevertheless we may venture to say that numismatic testimony confirms the opinion derived by Michaelis from the study of likenesses in marble, that the portraits of the Hellenistic age do not avoid the faults of superficiality and love of theatrical effect which mark generally the sculpture of that age. Only, those faults are in the case of portraits less glaring and more pardonable; and the close realism which accompanies them is pleasing to eyes trained by modern works of art, and only vexes the few who have a genuine love for the products of earlier and brighter days of Greek art.

XIV. 28. XIV. 29, 30. XIV. 31. XIV. 32. XIV. 33. XIV. 34.

P.S. The decadrachm of Agrigentum, engraved on the title-page, is in the French Collection. Its date must be immediately before the destruction of Agrigentum in B.C. 406. The obverse-type, two eagles devouring a hare, is

explained at page 130. The chariot of the reverse is represented in the act of turning the meta, and is so somewhat foreshortened; an attempt at perspective somewhat bold for the period. Over it flies the frequent symbol of agonistic victory, an eagle bearing off a serpent, which here takes the place of the more usual Nike. The crab below is the civic emblem of Agrigentum, unless indeed it may indicate the fact that the agonistic victory which inspired the coin was won on the shore of the sea.

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CLASSIFICATION OF GREEK COINS.

Period	Date B.C.	Political Character	North Italy	South Italy	Sicily	North Greece	Central Greece	Peloponnesus	Crete & Islands	North Africa	Asia Minor	The East	Art Character	Typical Sculptors
I.	600—479	Age of the Despots ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Early Archaic	Selinuntine Sculptors
II.	479—431	Rise of Athens	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Late Archaic	Aeginetan School
III.	431—371	Peloponnesian War— Spartan Hegemony	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Early Fine ...	Polycleitus
IV.	371—335	Theban Hegemony— Philip of Macedon	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	Late Fine ...	Praxiteles
V.	335—280	Alexander and the Diadochi	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	Early Decline	Lysippus
VI.	280—146	The Epigoni— Federal Systems ...	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	Late Decline	Pergamene School

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PLATE I.

Cl. 2 S. Italy B.C. 550—479	1	Caulonia	*Obv.* ΚΑΥΛΟ *retrograde.* Apollo striking with bough, a small figure on his outstretched arm. Stag in field. *Rev. Back* of the same figures, *incuse.*
	2	Poseidonia	*Obv.* Poseidon, clad in chlamys, striking with trident. [*Rev.* ΠΟΣ *retrogr.* Back of same figure, *incuse.*]
	3	Tarentum	*Obv.* ΤΑΡΑΣ *retrogr.* Apollo kneeling, holds flower and lyre. [*Rev.* The other side of the same figure, *incuse.*]
	4	,,	*Obv.* ΤΑΡΑΣ *retrogr.* Taras riding on dolphin through sea indicated by a shell : cable border. [*Rev.* The other side of the same devices, *incuse.*]
	5	Uncertain city	*Obv.* ΣΕΡ. Dionysus holding wine-cup and branch of vine. [*Rev.* Branch of vine.]
	6	Etruria	*Obv.* Gorgon running, clad in long chiton ; holds snake in each hand. [*Rev.* ΘΕΤΙ. Archaic wheel.]
	7	Velia	*Obv.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* Lion's head.]
	8	Cumae	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΚΥΜΕ. Muscle and sea-plant.]
	9	Tarentum	*Obv.* Head of Taras. [*Rev.* Taras riding on dolphin, below, shell.]
	10	Laus	*Obv.* Man-headed bull (river-god ?). [*Rev.* Back of the same type.]
	11	Sybaris	*Obv.* ΣΥ *retrogr.* Bull. [*Rev.* Back of bull.]
	12	Croton	[*Obv.* ΡΟ *retrogr.* Tripod.] *Rev.* Eagle flying, *incuse.*
Cl. 12 S. Italy B.C. 479—431	13	Caulonia	*Obv.* ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΣ. Apollo striking with bough. Stag in field. [*Rev.* ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑ[Stag ; in field, crab.]
	14	Poseidonia	*Obv.* ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑΤΑΣ. Poseidon, clad in chlamys, striking with trident. [*Rev.* ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[Bull.]
	15	,,	*Obv.* ΠΟΣΕΙ *retrogr.* Type as last. [*Rev.* ΠΟΣΕΙ. Bull.]
	16*	Metapontum	[*Obv.* ΜΕΤΑ. Ear of corn.] *Rev.* Apollo holding lustral bough and bow.
	17	Pandosia	*Obv.* No. 29. *Rev.* ΚΡΑΘΙΣ. River Crathis holding patera and lustral bough ; at his feet fish leaping.
	18	Rhegium	[*Obv.* Lion's scalp.] *Rev.* ΡΕΓΙΝΟΣ. The Demos of Rhegium seated : type in wreath.
	19	Tarentum	*Obv.* The Demos of Tarentum seated, holding distaff ; type in wreath. [*Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΣ. Taras riding on dolphin ; beneath, shell.]
	20	,,	*Obv.* ΤΑΡΑΣ *retrogr.* The Demos of Tarentum holding staff and wine-cup. [*Rev.* Similar to last.]
	21	,,	*Obv.* ΤΑΡΑΣ *retrogr.* The Demos of Tarentum holding distaff and staff. [*Rev.* Similar to last.]
	22	,,	[*Obv.* Head of Taras.] *Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΣ. Taras riding on dolphin through sea indicated by a shell.
	23	Terina	[*Obv.* ΤΕΡΙΝΑ. Head of nymph.] *Rev.* ΝΙΚΑ *retrogr.* Victory holding olive-bough ; type in wreath.
	24	,,	*Obv.* No. 30. *Rev.* ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. Victory seated on vase, holds wreath.
	25	Cumae	*Obv.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* ΚΥΜΑΙΟΝ. Pistrix and muscle.]
	26	Velia	*Obv.* ΥΕΛΗ. Head of nymph, wearing stephane. [*Rev.* Lion at bay.]
	27	,,	*Obv.* ΥΕΛΗ. Head of nymph. *Rev.* No. 33.
	28	Metapontum	*Obv.* Head of nymph ; around, wreath. [*Rev.* ΜΕ. Ear of corn.]
	29	Pandosia	*Obv.* ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΑ. Head of nymph, bound with taenia. *Rev.* No. 17.
	30	Terina	*Obv.* Head of nymph, wearing sphendone, within wreath. *Rev.* No. 24.
	31	Sybaris	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, helmet bound with olive. *Rev.* No. 34.
	32	Thurium	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, helmet bound with ivy ; behind, the letter Ξ. [*Rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull walking ; below, helmet.]
	33	Velia	*Obv.* No. 27. *Rev.* Lion at bay ; below, an owl.
	34	Sybaris	*Obv.* No. 31. *Rev.* ΣΥΒΑΡΙ. Bull, looking back.
	35*	Laus	*Obv.* ΛΑΙ *retrogr.* Man-headed bull ; below, an acorn. [*Rev.* ΛΑΙ *retrogr.* Man-headed bull.]
	36	Croton	*Obv.* Eagle standing on cornice of temple ; in field, head of ibex. [*Rev.* ΡΟ. Tripod ; in field, olive-spray.]

* From Mionnet's casts.

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AUTOTYPE

B.C. 550–431. ITALY.

PLATE II.

Cl. 3 Sicily B.C. 550—479	1	Galaria	*Obv.* ΣΟΤΕΡ *retrogr.* Zeus Soter seated; holds eagle.
	2		*Rev.* ΓΑΛΑ. Dionysus clad in long chiton; holds wine-cup and grapes.
	3	Camarina	*Rev.* Victory flying; at her feet, swan; type in wreath.
	4	,,	*Obv.* ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. Pallas standing, leaning on spear.
	5	Naxus	*Obv.* Head of Dionysus ivy-crowned. [*Rev.* ΝΑΞΙΟΝ. Bunch of grapes; in field, A.]
	6	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑϘΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of Arethusa; around, dolphins to represent the sea. *Rev.* No. 10.
	7	,,	*Obv.* As last. *Rev.* No. 11.
	8	Gela	*Obv.* ΓΕΛΑΣ *retrogr.* Forepart of man-headed bull (river-god). *Rev.* Quadriga; above, Victory.
	9	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑ. Quadriga. [*Rev.* Female head in the midst of incuse.]
	10	,,	*Obv.* No. 6. *Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Victory.
	11	,,	*Obv.* No. 7. *Rev.* Horseman leading second horse.
	12	Gela	[*Obv.* ΓΕΛΑΣ *retrogr.* Forepart of man-headed bull.] *Rev.* Armed horseman thrusting with spear.
	13	Himera	*Obv.* Cock. [*Rev.* Incuse device.]
	14	Zancle	*Obv.* ΔΑΝΚ. The harbour of Zancle; within it, dolphin. [*Rev.* Incuse device; in the midst, shell.]
Cl. 13 Sicily B.C. 479—431	15	Selinus	*Obv.* ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ. River Selinus sacrificing at altar, by which stands a cock; in the field, a bull on a base and a parsley-leaf. *Rev.* No. 36.
	16	,,	*Obv.* ΗΥΨΑΣ. River Hypsas sacrificing at altar, round which twines a snake; in the field, a marsh-bird and a parsley-leaf.
	17	,,	*Rev.* ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Heracles struggling with bull, and striking it with his club.
	18	Himera	*Obv.* Nymph Himera sacrificing at altar; behind, satyr taking a warm bath. *Rev.* No. 35.
	19	Catana	*Obv.* No. 39. *Rev.* ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Victory running, holding wreath.
	20	Naxus	*Obv.* No. 22. *Rev.* ΝΑΞΙΟΝ. Satyr seated, holding wine-cup.
	21	Himera	[*Obv.* Η[ΙΜΕΡΑ]ΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Hermes riding on goat.] *Rev.* ΝΙΚΑ. Victory holding aplustre bound with fillet.
	22	Naxus	*Obv.* Head of bearded Dionysus ivy-wreathed. *Rev.* No. 20.
	23	Catana	*Obv.* ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* Quadriga.]
	24	Leontini	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Lion's head and four barleycorns.]
	25	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* As last.]
	26	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of Arethusa in net; around, dolphins. [*Rev.* Quadriga driven by aged man; above, Victory.]
	27	,,	*Obv.* Same inscription. Head of Arethusa; around, dolphins. [*Rev.* Quadriga; above, Victory; below, pistrix.]
	28	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Quadriga; above, Victory.]
	29	,,	*Obv.* Same inscription *retrogr.* Head of Nike?; around, dolphins. *Rev.* No. 32.
	30	Leontini	*Obv.* ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Head of Apollo; below, lion; around, leaves. *Rev.* No. 33.
	31	Segesta	*Obv.* ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ *retrogr.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* Hound; above, murex.]
	32	Syracuse	*Obv.* No. 29. *Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Victory; below, lion.
	33	Leontini	*Obv.* No. 30. *Rev.* As last.
	34	Gela	*Obv.* No. 40. *Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Victory.
	35	Himera	*Obv.* No. 18. *Rev.* ΙΜΕΡΑΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Type as last.
	36	Selinus	*Obv.* No. 15. *Rev.* ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Apollo and Artemis in chariot; she holds the reins, he shoots arrow.
	37	Messana	[*Obv.* ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ. Hare running; below, dolphin.] *Rev.* Apene of mules crowned by Victory; below, olive-spray.
	38	Himera	[*Obv.* Nymph Himera sacrificing at altar; behind, caduceus.] *Rev.* Horseman alighting.
	39	Catana	*Obv.* Man-headed bull; above, water-fowl; below, fish. *Rev.* No. 19.
	40	Gela	*Obv.* Forepart of man-headed bull. *Rev.* No. 34.
	41	Agrigentum	*Obv.* ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ. Eagle. [*Rev.* Crab; below, flower.]
	42	Messana	*Obv.* ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ. Hare; below, head of Pan and syrinx. [*Rev.* Apene crowned by Victory; below, two dolphins.]

B.C. 550–431. SICILY.

PLATE III.

Cl. 4	1	Lete	*Obv.* Satyr and nymph. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	2	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
N. Greece	3	Potidaea	*Obv.* Π. Poseidon on horsebaek, holds trident; below, star. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
B. C. 600—479	4	Orreseii	*Obv.* ΟΡΡΗΣΚΙΟΝ. Man armed with two spears, leading two oxen. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	5	Bisalti	*Obv.* ΒΙΣΑΛΤΙΚΩΝ. Man armed with two spears, beside horse. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	6	Uncertain city	*Obv.* Two women lifting an amphora; rose in field. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	7	,,	*Obv.* Hermes running; holds caduceus. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	8	,,	*Obv.* Winged figure running, holding solar symbol; in field, rose. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	9	Thrace	*Obv.* Centaur carrying off nymph. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	10	Dieaea	*Obv.* Head of bearded Heracles in lion's skin. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	11	Aeneia	*Obv.* Head of Aeneas, helmeted. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	12	Edessa	*Obv.* ΕΔ *in monogram.* Goat kneeling. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	13	Abdera	*Obv.* Lion seizing bull. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
Cl. 5. 6. 7. 8	14	Elis	[*Obv.* ΓΑΛΕΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Eagle flying, in talons a serpent.] *Rev.* ΓΑ *retrogr.* Victory holding wreath, running.
	15	Arcadia	*Obv.* Zeus Aëtophorus seated. [*Rev.* ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ *retrogr.* Head of nymph.]
Central Greeee,	16	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΑΡΚΑ. Head of nymph.]
Peloponnese,	17	Gortyna	*Obv.* Europa on bull. [*Rev.* Lion's sealp.]
	18*	Cnossus	*Obv.* Minotaur holding stone. [*Rev.* Labyrinthine pattern enelosing star.]
Crete,	19	Naxos?	*Obv.* Head of satyr. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
Cyrene	20	Athens	*Obv.* Head of Pallas. [*Rev.* ΑΘΕ. Owl and olive-spray.]
B. C. 600—	21	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΑΘΕ *retrogr.* Owl.]
479	22	Corinth	*Obv.* Head of armed goddess. [*Rev.* ♀. Pegasus flying.]
	23	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* As last.]
	24	Cranium	*Obv.* Bust of nymph or Aphrodite. [*Rev.* Head of ram.]
	25	Heraea	*Obv.* Head of Hera. [*Rev.* ΕΡΑ *retrogr.* within pattern.]
	26	Corinth	*Obv.* ♀. Pegasus walking. [*Rev.* Incuse.]
	27	Cyrene	*Obv.* Silphium, seed of silphium and head of lion. [*Rev.* Eagle's head with serpent in beak.]
Cl. 14	28	Thasos	*Obv.* Θ]Α. Satyr surprising nymph. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	29	Abdera	[*Obv.* Griffin rearing.] *Rev.* ΑΝΑΞΙΠΠΟΛΙΣ. Dionysus elad in himation, holding wine-cup.
N. Greece	30	,,	[*Obv.* ΑΒΔΗ. Griffin rearing.] *Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΜΥΡΣΟ. Athlete holding discus.
B. C. 479—	31	,,	[*Obv.* ΑΒΔΗΡΙ. Griffin recumbent.] *Rev.* ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Artemis clad in long ehiton, holding bow and branch, beside her, stag.
431	32	Larissa	*Obv.* Hero struggling with bull. [*Rev.* ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΝ. Horse galloping.]
	33	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ. Horse galloping.]
	34	Terone	*Obv.* Satyr drinking from oenochoe. [*Rev.* ΤΕ. Goat.]
	35	Aenus	*Obv.* Head of Hermes. *Rev.* No. 40.
	36	Dicaea	*Obv.* Head of Apollo, or Goddess. [*Rev.* ΔΙΚΑΙΑ. Bull's head.]
	37	Pharsalus	*Obv.* Head of Pallas. [*Rev.* ΦΑΡ. Horse's head.]
	38	Coreyra	*Obv.* ΚΟΡ. Head of Hera. [*Rev.* Κ. Star.]
	39	Aeneia	*Obv.* Head of Aeneas. [*Rev.* ΑΙΝΕΑΣ. Incuse square.]
	40	Aenus	*Obv.* No. 35. *Rev.* ΑΙΝ. Goat; in front, bipennis.
Cl. 15. 16. 17. 18	41	Elis	*Obv.* Zeus Aëtophorus seated. [*Rev.* ΓΑΛΕ. Eagle flying, serpent in beak.]
	42	,,	*Obv.* No. 52. *Rev.* ΓΑ. Nike holding untied wreath.
Central	43	Arcadia	*Obv.* Zeus Aëtophorus seated. [*Rev.* ΑΡΚΑ. Head of nymph.]
Greece,	44	Thebes	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕΒΑ. Pallas? seated, elad in long ehiton and holding helmet.
Peloponnese,	45	,,	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕΒ. Heracles holding club and bow.
	46	,,	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕΒΑΙΟΣ. Heracles stringing bow.
Crete,	47	,,	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. Heracles earrying off the Delphic tripod.
Cyrene	48	,,	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕΒΑΙ[ΟΣ. Infant Heracles strangling serpents.
B. C. 479—	49	Cyrene	*Obv.* ΚΥΡΑ. Head of Zeus Ammon. [*Rev.* Silphium plant.]
431	50	Arcadia	[*Obv.* Zeus Aëtophorus seated.] *Rev.* ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ *retrogr.* Head of Despoena.
	51	Athens	*Obv.* Head of Pallas. *Rev.* No. 53.
	52	Elis	*Obv.* ΓΑΛΕΙΟ. Eagle flying. *Rev.* No. 42.
	53	Athens	*Obv.* No. 51. *Rev.* ΑΘΕ. Owl and olive-twig.

* From Mionnet's casts.

B.C. 600–431. HELLAS.

PLATE IV.

Cl. 9	1	Phaselis	*Obv.* Φ ? Heracles wrestling with Acheloüs. [*Rev.* Prow of galley ; below, fish.]
Asia Minor	2	Erythrae ?	*Obv.* Horseman galloping. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	3	Calymna	*Obv.* Head of Ares, or helmet and mask. [*Rev.* Lyre in incuse.]
B. C. 650—479	4	Methymna	[*Obv.* Boar.] *Rev.* ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ. Head of Pallas.
	5	Parium ?	*Obv.* Head of male deity. [*Rev.* Pattern in incuse.]
	6	Chios	*Obv.* Sphinx and amphora. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	7*	Phocaea	*Obv.* Φ ? Seal. [*Rev.* Incuse squares.]
	8	Halicarnassus	*Obv.* ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ *retrogr.* Stag. *Rev.* Incuse pattern.
	9	Zeleia	*Obv.* Chimaera. *Rev.* Incuse squares.
	10	Uncertain city	*Obv.* Sow. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	11*	Abydos ?	*Obv.* Eagle and dolphin. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	12	Samos	*Obv.* Fore-part of bull. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	13*	Uncertain city	*Obv.* Fore-parts of lion and bull joined. [*Rev.* Incuse pattern.]
	14	,,	*Obv.* Fore-parts of winged lion and winged horse joined. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	15	,,	*Obv.* Fore-part of lion. [*Rev.* Incuse device.]
	16	,,	*Obv.* Lion's head. [*Rev.* Incuse device.]
	17	,,	*Obv.* Lion's head. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	18	Ephesus ?	*Obv.* Fore-part of stag. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
Cl. 19	19	Cyzicus	*Obv.* Heracles kneeling, holding club and bow ; in field, tunny. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	20	,,	*Obv.* Winged goddess running, holding tunny by the tail. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
Asia Minor	21	Citium	*Obv.* Tyrian Heracles holding club and bow. *Rev.* No. 43.
B. C. 479—431	22	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Le Azbaal in Phoenician letters. Lion tearing stag.]
	23	Lycia	*Obv.* Heracles holding club. [*Rev.* Lycian inscription and symbol.]
	24	Pamphylia	*Obv.* Hermes winged, holding caduceus. [*Rev.* Pamphylian inscription. Lion ; above, caduceus.]
	25	Nagidus	*Obv.* ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ. Dionysus holding grapes and thyrsus. [*Rev.* Aphrodite seated, crowned by Eros.]
	26	Celenderis	*Obv.* Horseman armed with spear, alighting. [*Rev.* Goat kneeling.]
	27	Cyprus	*Obv.* Cyprian legend. Hermes clad in chiton, holding caduceus. [*Rev.* Like No. 33.]
	28	Cos	*Obv.* ΚΟΣ. Discobolus preparing to hurl discus ; beside him tripod. [*Rev.* Crab in incuse.]
	29	Aspendus	*Obv.* Warrior charging. *Rev.* No. 39.
	30	Mallus in Cilicia	*Obv.* Victory running holding caduceus and wreath. [*Rev.* Δ Γ. Conical stone.]
	31	Uncertain city	*Obv.* Two boxers, each holding oil-flask. [*Rev.* Cuttle-fish.]
	32	Erythrae	*Obv.* Horseman leading horse. [*Rev.* ΕΡΥΘ. Flower.]
	33	Cyprus	[*Obv.* Like No. 27.] *Rev.* Head of Zeus Ammon.
	34	Lycia	[*Obv.* Boar.] *Rev.* Helmeted head of warrior.
	35	Colophon	*Obv.* ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ *retrogr.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* Lyre.]
	36	Chalcedon	*Obv.* Head of Ares. [*Rev.* ΚΑΛΧ. Radiate wheel.]
	37	Colophon	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ. Lyre.]
	38	Lycia	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* Lycian inscription. Head of bearded Heracles.
	39	Aspendus	*Obv.* No. 29. *Rev.* ΕΣΠ. Lion and triquetra of legs.
	40	Cyprus	*Obv.* Cyprian inscription. Sphinx seated on lotus. [*Rev.* Lotus and astragalus.]
	41	Lycia	*Obv.* Winged lion-like monster. [*Rev.* Lycian legend and symbol.]
	42	,,	[*Obv.* Boar.] *Rev.* Lycian letters. Triquetra of cock's heads.
	43	Citium	*Obv.* No. 21. *Rev.* Le Baal Melek in Phoenician letters. Lion seated ; in front, ram's head.
	44	Ialysus	*Obv.* ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ. Fore-part of winged boar ; below, helmet. [*Rev.* ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ. Eagle's head.

* In the Museum at Munich.

B.C. 650–431. ASIA MINOR.

PLATE V.

Cl. 22	1	Rhegium	[*Obv.* Lion's scalp and olive-spray.] *Rev.* ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ *retrogr.* Demos seated leaning on staff, type in wreath.
	2	Croton	*Obv.* ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ. Heracles seated holding lustral branch and leaning on club. [*Rev.* Like No. 7.]
S. Italy	3	Tarentum	*Obv.* Taras or Demos seated playing with panther's cub.
	4	,,	*Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ. Taras armed, riding on dolphin.
B. C. 431—371	5	Poseidonia	*Obv.* Poseidon striking with trident; in field, branch, and head of pistrix. [*Rev.* ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑ. Bull.]
	6	Heraclea	*Obv.* No. 19. *Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Heracles strangling Nemean lion; in field, bow and club; below Φ.
	7	Croton	[*Obv.* Like No. 2.] *Rev.* Apollo shooting the Python; between the two, tripod.
	8	Tarentum	*Obv.* Horseman thrusting with spear. [*Rev.* ΤΑΡ *retrogr.* Taras on dolphin amid waves.]
	9	,,	*Obv.* Horseman crowning horse; carries shield. [*Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΣ *retrogr.* Taras on dolphin, thrusting with spear.]
	10	Croton	*Obv.* No. 16. *Rev.* Infant Heracles on couch strangling serpents.
	11	Locri	*Obv.* No. 14. *Rev.* ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Eirene seated on altar, holds caduceus.
	12	Terina	*Obv.* No. 23. *Rev.* Nike seated on cippus, holds bird.
	13	,,	[*Obv.* ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. Head of nymph Terina.] *Rev.* Nike seated, holding wreath; beside her, vase.
	14	Locri	*Obv.* ΖΕΥΣ. Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 11.
	15	Rhegium	*Obv.* ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ. Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 26.
	16	Croton	*Obv.* ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ. Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 10.
	17	Thurium	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, Scylla on helmet. *Rev.* No. 24.
	18	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull butting.]
	19	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, sea-horse on helmet. *Rev.* No. 6.
	20	Terina	*Obv.* Head of nymph Terina within wreath; behind Φ. [*Rev.* ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. Nike seated on hydria; holding caduceus and bird.]
	21	Nola	*Obv.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* ΝΩΛΑΙΟΣ. Man-headed bull, crowned by Victory.]
	22	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Victory (?) on aegis. [*Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Heracles reclining; holds wine-cup.]
	23	Terina	*Obv.* ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ. Head of nymph. *Rev.* No. 12.
	24	Thurium	*Obv.* No. 17. *Rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull butting; below, fish.
	25	Croton	*Obv.* ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙ. Eagle carrying olive-bough. [*Rev.* Tripod between ear of corn and Python coiled.]
	26	Rhegium	*Obv.* No. 15. *Rev.* Lion's scalp.
	27	Metapontum	[*Obv.* ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ. Head of Leucippus; behind, dog; below, Σ.] *Rev.* ΜΕΤΑ. Ear of corn, on leaf, bird; below which, ΑΜΙ.
Cl. 32	28*	Tarentum	[*Obv.* Head of Hera.] *Rev.* Poseidon receiving Taras; behind, star.
	29	Croton	*Obv.* No. 43. *Rev.* ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙ. Heracles reclining, holding wine-cup and club.
S. Italy	30	Tarentum	*Obv.* No. 34. *Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΣ. Taras riding on dolphin; holds wine-cup.
	31	,,	*Obv.* No. 35. *Rev.* As last; Taras holds plant.
B. C. 371—335	32	Heraclea	*Obv.* No. 44. *Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. Heracles strangling lion; in field, club, ΚΑΛ, below, owl.
	33	Terina	[*Obv.* Head of nymph.] *Rev.* ΤΕΡΙ]ΝΑΙ. Victory standing, holding caduceus.
	34	Tarentum	*Obv.* Horseman crowning horse. *Rev.* No. 33.
	35	,,	*Obv.* Horseman galloping. *Rev.* No. 31.
	36	,,	*Obv.* No. 45. *Rev.* Armed horseman thrusting with spear; below, ΑΠ, Θ.
	37	Tarentum (Alexander of Epirus)	*Obv.* Head of Dodonaean Zeus, oak-crowned. [*Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ. Thunderbolt and spear-head.]
	38	S. Italy (Alexander)	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Same legend. Thunderbolt and eagle.]
	39	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Same legend. Thunderbolt.]
	40	Metapontum	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate; behind, fulmen. [*Rev.* ΜΕ]ΤΑΠΟΝ. Ear of corn; in field, ΚΑΛ, and poppy-head.]
	41	Velia	*Obv.* Head of Pallas; signed on helmet by the artist Cleodorus. [*Rev.* ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ. Lion tearing prey.]
	42	Pandosia	*Obv.* Head of Hera Lacinia. [*Rev.* ΠΑΝ]ΔΟΣΙΝ. Pan Agreus seated by Term.]
	43	Croton	*Obv.* As last. *Rev.* No. 29.
	44	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, Scylla on helmet. *Rev.* No. 32.
	45	Tarentum	*Obv.* Head of Hera. *Rev.* No. 36.

* From Mionnet's casts.

B.C. 431–335. ITALY.

PLATE VI.

Cl. 23 Sicily B. C. 431–371	1	Selinus	*Obv.* ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. River-god Selinus sacrificing at altar, beside which is a cock; behind, bull on pedestal and parsley-leaf. *Rev.* No. 24.
	2	Himera	*Obv.* Nymph Himera sacrificing at altar; behind her, satyr enjoying a warm bath; above, barleycorn. [*Rev.* ΙΜΕΡΑΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Quadriga crowned by Nike.]
	3*	Eryx	*Obv.* ΕΡΥΚΙΝΟΝ. Aphrodite holding a dove; before her, Eros. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike.]
	4	Segesta	[*Obv.* ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΑ. Head of nymph wearing sphendone; below, ear of corn.] *Rev.* ΕΓΕΣ]ΤΑΙΩΝ. River-god standing, holding hunting-spears; beside him two dogs, and in front Term.
	5	Syracuse	*Obv.* No. 18. *Rev.* ΛΕΥΚΑΣΠΙΣ. Leucaspis charging.
	6	Naxus	*Obv.* No. 14. *Rev.* ΝΑΞΙΟΝ. Satyr sitting by vine, holding wine-cup and thyrsus.
	7	Camarina	*Obv.* No. 13. *Rev.* ΚΑΜΑ. Nymph Camarina riding on swan over waves, amid which are fishes.
	8	Syracuse	*Obv.* No. 17. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑ. Heracles strangling lion; in field, club and ivy-leaf.
	9	Leontini	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Lion's head, and barleycorns; below, fish.]
	10	Catana	*Obv.* ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Head of Apollo laureate; behind, olive-leaf. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike.]
	11	Gela	*Obv.* Head of river-god Gelas amid fishes. [*Rev.* ΓΕΛΩΙΟΝ. Quadriga driven by Nike; above, olive-wreath.]
	12	Camarina	*Obv.* ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Head of bearded Heracles in lion's skin. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike; below, swan.]
	13	„	*Obv.* Head of river-god emerging from waves, amid fishes; signed on neck by artist Euae[netus. *Rev.* No. 7.
	14	Naxus	*Obv.* Head of bearded Dionysus, ivy-crowned. *Rev.* No. 6.
	15	Camarina	*Obv.* ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ. Head of young Heracles; in front, olive-twig. *Rev.* No. 27.
	16	Catana	*Obv.* ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ. Head of Apollo laureate; in front bell, behind cray-fish. *Rev.* No. 29.
	17	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of Arethusa; behind, barleycorn, ΚΙ. *Rev.* No. 8.
	18	„	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of Arethusa amid dolphins. Signed by the artist Eumenus. *Rev.* No. 5.
	19	„	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone surrounded by dolphins. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike; in exergue, ear of corn.]
	20	„	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of Arethusa amid dolphins. Signed by the artist Eumenus, on ampyx. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike, horses galloping in step.]
	21	„	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Arethusa amid dolphins. Signed by Cimon, on dolphin. *Rev.* No. 25.
	22	„	*Obv.* ΑΡΕΘΟΣΑ. Head of Arethusa facing, amid dolphins. Signed by Cimon, on ampyx. [*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga crowned by Nike; below, ear of corn.]
	23	„	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Arethusa amid dolphins. Signed by Eucleides. [*Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Nike; below, dolphin.]
	24	Selinus	*Obv.* No. 1. *Rev.* Apollo and Artemis in quadriga; she holds the reins, he shoots arrow; below, barleycorn.
	25	Syracuse	*Obv.* No. 21. *Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Victory; below, arms as prizes and inscription ΑΘΛΑ.
	26	„	[*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ. Head of Arethusa amid dolphins. Signed by Eucleides.] *Rev.* Quadriga crowned by Victory; in exergue, wheel. Signed by Euaenetus on line of exergue.
	27	Camarina	*Obv.* No. 15. *Rev.* Quadriga driven by Pallas, who is crowned by Victory; below, barley-corn.
	28	Agrigentum	*Obv.* No. 31. *Rev.* ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Quadriga driven by Victory; above, vine-branch.
	29	Catana	*Obv.* No. 16. *Rev.* Quadriga passing meta; above, Victory holding tablet; below, crab. Signed by the artist Euaenetus, on tablet.
	30	Messana	[*Obv.* ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Hare; below, eagle tearing serpent.] *Rev.* Apene of mules; over it, Victory, who holds caduceus and wreath; below, fish. Signed by Cimon (?) on line of exergue.
	31	Agrigentum	*Obv.* ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ. Two eagles on hare which lies on rocks; behind, head of Pan or river-god. *Rev.* No. 28.
	32	„	*Rev.* Crab, sea-perch, and shell.
	33	„	*Obv.* ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ. Eagle tearing hare which lies on the sea-shore, symbolized by shell.
	34	„	[*Obv.* Two eagles tearing hare.] *Rev.* ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝ. Crab, made to resemble a human head, cray-fish, barleycorn, and locust.
Cl. 33 Sicily	35	Syracuse	*Obv.* No. 40. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΑΣΠ[ΙΣ. Leucaspis charging beside altar; in front of him, dead ram.
	36	Thermae	*Obv.* No. 39. *Rev.* Heracles seated on rock; behind him, bow and quiver.
	37	Syracuse	[*Obv.* ΞΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ. Head of Zeus Eleutherius laureate. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Thunderbolt and barleycorn.]
B. C. 371–335	38	Gela	*Obv.* ΓΕΛΑΣ. Head of bearded river-god. [*Rev.* Free horse.]
	39	Thermae	*Obv.* ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ. Head of Hera Lacinia; behind, dolphin. *Rev.* No. 36.
	40	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Pallas, amid dolphins. Like work of the artist Eucleides. *Rev.* No. 35.

* From the Collection of Rev. W. Greenwell.

B.C. 431–335. SICILY.

PLATE VII.

Cl. 24	1	Thasos	[*Obv.* No. 8.] *Rev.* ΘΑΣΙΟΝ. Heracles as an archer; in field, buckler.
	2*	Haliartus	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield, on it, trident.] *Rev.* ΑΡΙΑΡΤΙΟΣ. Poscidon thrusting with trident.
N. Greece	3	Larissa	*Obv.* No. 17. *Rev.* ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΑ. Horseman standing beside horse.
B.C. 431—371	4	Macedon, Archelaus I.	*Obv.* Horseman carrying two spears. [*Rev.* ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ. Fore-part of goat.]
	5	Amyntas III.	*Obv.* Horseman striking with lance. [*Rev.* ΑΜΥΝΤΑ. Lion breaking spear in his mouth.]
	6	Pharsalus	*Obv.* No. 18. *Rev.* ΦΑΡΣ. Horseman, whip over shoulder; in exergue, ΤΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΟ *retrogr.*
	7	Mende	*Obv.* Silenus riding on ass; in field, astragalus and barleycorn. [*Rev.* ΜΕΝΔΑΙΗ. Amphora.]
	8	Thasos	*Obv.* Head of Dionsyus ivy-crowned. *Rev.* No. 1.
	9	Aenus	*Obv.* Head of Hermes, wearing pileus. [*Rev.* ΑΙΝΙΟΝ. Goat; in field, eagle.]
	10	Archelaus I.	*Obv.* Head of Ares, or Apollo, bound with taenia. [*Rev.* ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ. Horse walking.]
	11	Amphipolis	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate; beside, small dog. [*Rev.* ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ. Torch; beside it, A.]
	12	Chalcidice	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 21.
	13	„	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* As last, tripod above lyre.]
	14	Thebes	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕ. Head of bearded Heracles.
	15	Euboea	*Obv.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* ΕΥΒ. Head of bull.]
	16	Neapolis	*Obv.* No. 19. *Rev.* ΝΕΟΠ. Head of Nike, wearing olive-wreath.
	17	Larissa	*Obv.* Head of nymph. *Rev.* No. 3.
	18	Pharsalus	*Obv.* Head of Pallas. *Rev.* No. 6.
	19	Neapolis	*Obv.* Head of Gorgon. *Rev.* No. 16.
	20	Abdera	*Obv.* Lion devouring bull. [*Rev.* ΑΚΑΝΘΙΟΝ. Linear square.]
	21	Chalcis	*Obv.* No. 12. *Rev.* Lyre bound with fillet.
Cl. 25	22	Locri Opuntii	[*Obv.* Head of Persephone.] *Rev.* ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ. Ajax charging; below, shield.
	23	Thebes	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕ. Infant Heracles strangling serpents.
Central Greece	24	„	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* Head of Dionysus, ivy-crowned.
	25	„	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕ. As last.
B.C. 431—371	26	Megara	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΜΕΓΑ. Five crescents.]
	27	Thebes	[*Obv.* Boeotian shield.] *Rev.* ΘΕ. Amphora in ivy-wreath.
Cl. 34	28	Chalcidiee	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ. Lyre.]
	29	Philip II.	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 39.
N. Greece	30	„	*Obv.* Head of Ares laureate. *Rev.* No. 38.
B.C. 371—335	31	Phalanna	*Obv.* Head of Ares? [*Rev.* ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ. Bridled horse.]
	32	Macedon, Perdiccas III.	*Obv.* Head of young Heracles. [*Rev.* ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ. Horse; below, club.]
	33	Cierium	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* ΚΙΕΡΙΕΙΩΝ. Nymph Arne playing with astragali.]
	34	Panticapaeum	*Obv.* Head of Pan. *Rev.* No. 42.
	35	Larissa	*Obv.* Head of nymph. *Rev.* No. 40.
	36	Pherae, Alexander	*Obv.* Head of Hecate, with arm holding torch. *Rev.* No. 41.
	37	Orthagoria	*Obv.* Head of Artemis. [*Rev.* ΟΡΘΑΓΟΡΕΩΝ. Helmet, surmounted by star.]
	38	Philip II.	*Obv.* No. 30. *Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Two-horse chariot; below, trident.
	39	„	*Obv.* No. 29. *Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Victorious horse and jockey; below, thunderbolt.
	40	Larissa	*Obv.* No. 35. *Rev.* ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ. Horse feeding.
	41	Pherae, Alexander	*Obv.* No. 36. *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. Head of lion.
	42	Panticapaeum	*Obv.* No. 34. *Rev.* ΠΑΝ. Griffin holding spear in jaws, treading on ear of corn.
Cl. 35	43	Locri Opuntii	[*Obv.* Head of Persephone crowned with corn.] *Rev.* ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ. Ajax charging; below, spear.
Central Greece	44	Amphictiones	*Obv.* No. 47. *Rev.* ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ. Apollo clad in long chiton, seated on omphalos and leaning on lyre; in field, tripod.
	45	Eleusis	*Obv.* Triptolemus in winged chariot drawn by serpents. *Rev.* No. 48.
B.C. 371—335	46	Locri	*Obv.* Head of Persephone, crowned with corn. [*Rev.* ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ. Ajax charging.]
	47	Amphictiones	*Obv.* Head of Demeter, veiled and crowned with corn. *Rev.* No. 44.
	48	Eleusis	*Obv.* No. 45. *Rev.* ΕΛΕΥΣΙ. Pig standing on torch; below, pig's head and ivy-leaf.

* From the Collection of Dr Imhoof-Blumer.

B.C. 431–335. NORTHERN GREECE.

PLATE VIII.

Cl. 26	1	Zacynthus	*Obv.* No. 8. *Rev.* ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΩΝ. Infant Heracles strangling serpents.
	2	Pale in Cephallenia	*Obv.* No. 9. *Rev.* ΚΕΦΑ. Cephalus seated, holding hunting-spear.
Peloponnese	3	Elis	[*Obv.* Eagle holding serpent in claws.] *Rev.* FAΛ. Victory running, holding wreath.
	4	,,	[*Obv.* Eagle tearing hare.] *Rev.* FA. Victory seated, holding palm; below, olive-twig.
B.C. 431—371	5	Corinth	*Obv.* ♀. Bellerophon on Pegasus, striking with spear. [*Rev.* Chimaera; below, ΔΙ, amphora.]
	6	Elis	*Obv.* Head of Olympian Zeus crowned with olive. [*Rev.* FA. Thunderbolt; type in olive-wreath.]
	7	Epidaurus	*Obv.* Head of Aselepius laureate. [*Rev.* ΕΠ in monogram, within wreath.]
	8	Zacynthus	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 1.
	9	Pale in Cephallenia	*Obv.* ΠΑ. Head of Cephalus. *Rev.* No. 2.
	10	Cleone	*Obv.* Head of Apollo radiate. [*Rev.* ΚΛΗ. Butting bull; above, Centaur.]
	11	Corinth	*Obv.* Head of armed goddess; behind, trident. [*Rev.* ♀. Pegasus flying.]
	12	Cephallenia	[*Obv.* ΚΕΦ. Head of Cephalus; in field, dog's head and spear-head.] *Rev.* Head of Proeris; behind, stork.
	13	Argos	*Obv.* Head of Hera, wearing stephanos. [*Rev.* ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. Two dolphins; between them, wolf.]
	14*	,,	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. Two dolphins; between them, swan.]
	15	Elis	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* FA. Thunderbolt; type in olive-wreath.]
	16	Corinth	*Obv.* Δ. Head of Aphrodite. [*Rev.* ♀. Pegasus flying.]
	17	,,	*Obv.* A. As last. [*Rev.* As last.]
	18	,,	*Obv.* Δ. As last. [*Rev.* As last.]
	19	,,	[*Obv.* Head of armed goddess.] *Rev.* ♀. Pegasus fastened by halter to nail.
	20	Sicyon	*Obv.* Chimaera; below, head of Pan. [*Rev.* A, Γ. Dove flying; in olive-wreath.]
	21	Elis	*Obv.* Eagle tearing ram, on round shield. [*Rev.* FA. Thunderbolt.]
	22	,,	*Obv.* Eagle tearing serpent. Signed by the artist Da(edalus ?). [*Rev.* As last.]
	23	,,	*Obv.* Head of Eagle; below, leaf. Signed as last. [*Rev.* FA. Thunderbolt; within wreath.]
	24	,,	[*Obv.* Eagle tearing hare.] *Rev.* FAΛΕΙΟΝ. Winged thunderbolt.
Cl. 26/36	25	Messene	*Obv.* No. 28. *Rev.* ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Zeus holding thunderbolt and eagle.
	26	Elis	*Obv.* FAΛΕΙΟΝ. Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* Eagle on Ionic capital.]
	27	,,	*Obv.* FA. Head of Olympia. *Rev.* No. 30.
	28	Messene	*Obv.* Head of Demeter crowned with corn. *Rev.* No. 25.
	29	Elis	*Obv.* FA. Head of Hera. [*Rev.* Eagle standing, in wreath of olive.]
	30	,,	*Obv.* No. 27. *Rev.* Eagle, within olive-wreath.
			[These coins appear from historical grounds to belong to the period after B.C. 371; but their style is rather of an earlier period.]
Cl. 36	31*	Pheneus	*Obv.* No 41. *Rev.* ΦΕΝΕΩΝ ΑΡΚΑΣ. Hermes carrying the infant Arcas.
	32	Areadia	*Obv.* No. 37. *Rev.* ΑΡΚ in monogram. Pan seated on mountain (which is inscribed ΟΛΥ); below, his syrinx.
Peloponnese	33	Zacynthus	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate.] *Rev.* ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΥ. Apollo? seated, caressing snake.
	34	Stymphalus	*Obv.* No. 38. *Rev.* ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ. Heracles striking with club; below, ΣΟ.
B.C. 371—335	35	Argos	*Obv.* No. 40. *Rev.* ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. Diomedes carrying off Palladium.
	36	Pheneus	[*Obv.* Head of Persephone.] *Rev.* ΦΕΝΕΩΝ. Hermes seated on rocks.
	37	Arcadia	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 32.
	38	Stymphalus	*Obv.* Head of Artemis laureate. *Rev.* No. 34.
	39	Elis	*Obv.* FA. Head of Hera, wearing stephanos. [*Rev.* Eagle standing, in wreath of olive.]
	40	Argos	*Obv.* As last. *Rev.* No. 35.
	41	Pheneus	*Obv.* Head of Demeter crowned with corn. *Rev.* No. 31.
	42	Corinthian colony	*Obv.* Head of armed goddess; behind, Zeus hurling thunderbolt. [*Rev.* A. Pegasus flying.]
	43	,,	*Obv.* A. Same head; behind, Hermes seated; in front, magistrate's name, ΑΡΑΘΟΟΣ. [*Rev.* Pegasus flying.]
	44	Stymphalus	[*Obv.* Head of young Heracles in lion's skin.] *Rev.* ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΟΝ. Head of a Stymphalian bird emerging from amid plants.

* From Mionnet's casts.

B.C. 431–335. PELOPONNESE.

PLATE IX.

	1	Itanus	*Obv.* Triton striking with trident. [*Rev.* ΙΤΑ. Two sea monsters.]
Cl. 27/37 Crete	2	Priansus	*Obv.* ΠΡΙΑΝΣΙΕΩΝ. Poseidon holding dolphin and trident. *Rev.* No. 5.
	3	Rhaucus	*Obv.* ΑΝ. Poseidon Hippius holding trident and the bridle of a horse. [*Rev.* ΡΑΥΚΙΟΝ. Trident.]
B.C. 431—300	4*	Sybritia	*Obv.* Bearded Dionysus seated, holding wine-cup and thyrsus. *Rev.* No. 14.
	5	Priansus	*Obv.* No. 2. *Rev.* Draped female figure sitting under palm, and caressing serpent.
	6	Sybritia	*Obv.* Young Dionysus galloping on panther. *Rev.* No. 13.
	7	Phaestus	*Obv.* Heracles slaying the Lernaean hydra; at his feet, crab. [*Rev.* ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ. Bull.]
	8	,,	*Obv.* ΦΑΙΣΤΙ. Heracles resting; bow and quiver hung to tree by his side; behind him, large vase. [*Rev.* Bull walking.]
	9	,,	*Obv.* ΤΑΛΩΝ. The winged daemon Talos or Talon hurling stones. [*Rev.* ΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ. Bull butting.]
	10	Cydonia	[*Obv.* Female head.] *Rev.* ΚΥΔΩΝ. Athlete stringing bow.
	11	Aptera	[*Obv.* ΑΠΤΕΡΑΙΩΝ. Head of goddess wearing stephane.] *Rev.* ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΚΟΣ. Apteras, called in the inscription Ptolioecns, armed, plucking branch from tree; in field, ΑΠ in monogram.
	12	Eleuthernae	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate.] *Rev.* ΕΛΕΥ. Apollo holding stone and bow.
	13	Sybritia	*Obv.* No. 6. *Rev.* ΣΥΒΡ]ΙΤΙΩΝ. Hermes tying his sandal, caduceus in field.
	14*	,,	*Obv.* No. 4. *Rev.* ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΟΝ. Hermes standing, holding patera and caduceus.
	15*	Uncertain city	*Obv.* Apollo seated in tree, holding wreath.
	16*	,,	*Rev.* Apollo seated in tree, playing on lyre.
	17	Phaestus	*Obv.* ΓΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ *retrogr.* Young Zens (called in inscription Velchanus), seated in tree, holding cock. [*Rev.* ΦΑΙΣΤ *retrogr.* Bull.]
	18*	Gortyna	*Obv.* Europa seated in tree, holding sceptre surmounted by cuckoo, and wearing stephanos, caresses eagle. [*Rev.* Bull.]
	19	,,	*Obv.* Europa seated in tree in attitude of grief; beside her, eagle. [*Rev.* ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Bull.]
	20	,,	*Obv.* Europa seated in tree. [*Rev.* As last.]
	21	Polyrhenium	*Obv.* Head of Zens laureate. [*Rev.* ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΟΝ. Ox-head bound with fillet, and spear-head.]
	22*	Cydonia	*Obv.* Head of Dionysus, ivy-crowned. *Rev.* No. 25.
	23	Cnossus	*Obv.* Head of Argive Hera. [*Rev.* ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ ΑΡ. Labyrinth; in field, spear-head.]
	24	Gortyna	[*Obv.* Enropa seated in tree.] *Rev.* ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Bull cleaning himself.
	25*	Cydonia	*Obv.* No. 22. *Rev.* ΚΥΔΩΝ. Miletus suckled by she-wolf or hound.
Cl. 28	26	Cyrene	*Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon in wreath. *Rev.* No. 29.
	27	Barce	*Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon; below, ΑΚΕΣΙΟΣ. [*Rev.* ΒΑΡΚΑΙ. Silphium.]
Cyrene	28	Cyrene	*Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon; behind, olive-spray. [*Rev.* ΛΙΒΥΣΤΡΑΤΟ. Silphium.]
B.C. 431—371	29	,,	*Obv.* No. 26. *Rev.* ΚΥΡΑΝΑ. Silphium.
	30	Barce	[*Obv.* Like No. 27.] *Rev.* ΒΑΡΚΑΙΟΝ *retrogr.* Three silphium-plants, between them owl, jerboa and chamaeleon.
Cl. 38	31	Cyrene	*Obv.* ΚΥΔΙΟΣΘ. Zeus seated, holding eagle. [*Rev.* ΚΥ. Quadriga; above, sun.]
	32	,,	*Obv.* ΙΑΣΩΝ. Zeus Ammon seated, holding sceptre. [*Rev.* ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Quadriga.]
Cyrene	33	,,	*Obv.* ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΕΥΣ. Zens Ammon standing, holding patera and sceptre; beside him, lamp-stand or incense-altar. *Rev.* No. 35.
B.C. 371—300	34	,,	*Obv.* ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Zeus Ammon standing, holding sceptre; beside him, ram. [*Rev.* ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ. Quadriga.]
	35	,,	*Obv.* No. 33. *Rev.* ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Quadriga driven by Victory.
	36	,,	*Obv.* ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ. Horseman. [*Rev.* Silphium.]

* 4, 14, 18 from Mionnet's casts; 15, 16, 22, 25 from the Hunter collection.

B.C. 431-300. CRETE, CYRENE.

PLATE X.

Cl. 29	1	Cyzicus	*Obv.* Cecrops, serpent-footed, grasping tree, on tunny. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	2	,,	*Obv.* Victory kneeling, on tunny. [*Rev.* As last.]
Asia Minor	3	,,	*Obv.* Helios holding two horses, kneeling, on tunny. [*Rev.* As last.]
B.C. 431—371	4	,,	*Obv.* Harmodius and Aristogeiton charging, on tunny. [*Rev.* As last.]
	5	,,	*Obv.* Warrior about to discharge arrow; behind, tunny. [*Rev.* As last.]
	6	Side	*Rev.* Pamphylian inscription. Apollo at altar, holds laurel-branch and bow; behind him, raven.
	7	,,	*Obv.* Pallas armed, holding owl and shield.
	8	Cilicia. Tiribazus	*Obv.* Hormuzd flying; holds wreath and flower.
	9	,,	*Rev.* Name of Tiribazus in Aramaic letters. Zeus holding eagle and sceptre.
	10	Aspendus	[*Obv.* Similar to No. 11.] *Rev.* Pamphylian inscription. Slinger; in field, triquetra.
	11	,,	*Obv.* Wrestlers. [*Rev.* Similar to No. 10.]
	12	Celenderis	*Obv.* Horseman alighting. [*Rev.* ΚΕΛΕ. Goat kneeling.]
	13	Chios	*Obv.* Sphinx seated; in front, grapes and amphora. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	14	Colophon	*Obv.* Head of a King or Satrap in Persian cap. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛ. Lyre.]
	15	Rhodes	*Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* No. 21.
	16	Megiste	*Obv.* Head of Helios on radiate disk. [*Rev.* ΜΕ. Rose with buds.]
	17	Trapezus	*Obv.* Bearded male head. [*Rev.* ΤΡΑ. Table; on it bunch of grapes.]
	18	Cnidus	*Obv.* Head of Aphrodite. *Rev.* No. 20.
	19	Cyprus	*Obv.* Cyprian inscription. Bull; above, winged symbol; in front, *crux ansata*. [*Rev.* Eagle flying.]
	20	Cnidus	*Obv.* No. 18. *Rev.* ΕΟΒΩΛΟ. Head and paw of lion.
	21	Rhodes	*Obv.* No. 15. *Rev.* ΡΟΔΙΟΝ. Rose with bud; in field, Sphinx, seated.
Cl. 39	22	Caria. Mausolus	*Obv.* No. 36. *Rev.* ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ. Zeus Labrandeus armed with bipennis; in field, wreath.
Asia Minor	23	Cyzicus	*Obv.* No. 45. *Rev.* ΚΥΖΙ. Apollo seated on omphalos, holding patera and leaning on lyre; in front, coek; behind, ΑΡ in monogram.
B.C. 371—335	24	Lampsaeus	*Obv.* Victory ereeting trophy. [*Rev.* Half-winged horse.]
	25	,,	*Obv.* Persephone rising from the ground amid corn and vines. [*Rev.* Half-winged horse.]
	26	Clazomenae / Orontas	*Obv.* Warrior in attitude of defence; below, Τ. [*Rev.* ΟΡΟΝΤΑ. Half-winged boar.]
	27	Cyprus	[*Obv.* Cyprian inscription. Zeus seated.] *Rev.* Cyprian inscription. Female figure pouring ineense on altar and holding braneh.
	28	Lycia	*Obv.* Pallas Nikephoros; her right hand rests on trunk of tree. *Rev.* No. 34.
	29	Tarsus	*Obv.* Name of Satrap in Aramaic letters. Two deities standing; between them, incense-altar. [*Rev.* Baal Tars in Aramaic letters. Baal Tars seated, holds eagle-topped sceptre and grapes.]
	30	,,	*Obv.* No. 32. *Rev.* Baal Tars in Aramaic letters. Baal Tars seated, holding grapes and corn; beside him, ineense-altar; under throne, forepart of bull; around, the walls of Tarsus.
	31	Mallus	*Obv.* ΜΑΛ. Hermes; beside him, Aphrodite, who rests on pillar and lays a hand on his shoulder. *Rev.* No. 33.
	32	Tarsus	*Obv.* Name of Satrap in Aramaic letters. King or Hero shooting in seated attitude; in the field, winged symbol and bow. *Rev.* No. 30.
	33	Mallus	*Obv.* No. 31. *Rev.* Pallas seated, holding spear and shield; behind her, tree.
	34	Lycia	*Obv.* No. 28. *Rev.* Female deity seated between sphinxes, and smelling flower.
	35	Cilicia	*Obv.* Young Dionysus seated in vine; over shoulder, ear of corn. [*Rev.* Car drawn by oxen; above, winged symbol.]
	36	Caria. Mausolus	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 22.
	37	Clazomenae	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΚΛΑΣΟ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ. Swan; below, winged boar.]
	38	Lampsaeus	*Obv.* Head of a Cabeirus? wearing laureate pileus. [*Rev.* Half-winged horse.]
	39	,,	*Obv.* Head of a Maenad wearing ivy-wreath. [*Rev.* As last.]
	40	,,	*Obv.* Head of a Maenad with pointed ear. [*Rev.* As last.]
	41	Cyzicus	*Obv.* Head of Demeter, corn-crowned; below, tunny. [*Rev.* Incuse square.]
	42*	,,	*Obv.* Laureate male head, bald; below, tunny. [*Rev.* As last.]
	43	Tenedos	*Obv.* Head of dimorphous Dionysus. [*Rev.* ΤΕΝΕΔΙΟΝ. Bipennis; in field, grapes and lyre.]
	44	Mytilene	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΜΥΤΙ. Lyre; amphora in field.]
	45	Cyzicus	*Obv.* Head of Demeter, corn-crowned; below, tunny. *Rev.* No. 23.
	46	Cilicia / Pharnabazus	[*Obv.* Helmeted head of Deity; name of Pharnabazus in Aramaic letters.] *Rev.* Head of nymph.
	47	Paphos	*Obv.* Head of Aphrodite, wearing stephanos. [*Rev.* ΠΑΦΙ. Dove; above, astragalus.]
	48	Cyprus	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* Cypriote letters. Head of Pallas.]
	49	,,	*Obv.* ΒΑ. As last. [*Rev.* ΠΝ. Turreted head of goddess.]
	50	Clazomenae	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo. Signed by the artist Theodotus.] *Rev.* ΚΛΑΣΟ ΜΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ. Swan.

* From the collection of Rev. W. Greenwell.

B.C. 431–335. ASIA MINOR.

Cl. 42	1	Heraclea	*Obv.* No. 13. *Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. Heracles holding club and bow; in field, wine-cup.
	2	S. Italy, Pyrrhus	*Obv.* No. 10. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Thetis on hippocamp, bearing the armour of Achilles.
S. Italy	3	Tarentum	*Obv.* KPA. NIK in monogram. Horseman crowning horse. *Rev.* TAPAΣ. APIΣTO. Taras on dolphin; holds Victory and trident.]
B.C. 335—280	4	„	*Obv.* As last, magistrates' names, ΣΑ ΦΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΣ.
	5	„	*Rev.* TAPAΣ. Taras riding on dolphin, holds grapes; below, AΓA.
	6	Locri	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 17.
	7	S. Italy, Pyrrhus	*Obv.* Head of Zeus Dodonaeus crowned with oak; below, letters. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Dione seated on throne; below, A.]
	8	Croton	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* KPO. Tripod; in field, laurel-branch.]
	9	Tarentum	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* TAPANTINΩN. Eagle on thunderbolt; in field, letters.]
	10	S. Italy, Pyrrhus	*Obv.* Head of Achilles; below, A. *Rev.* No. 2.
	11	Neapolis	*Obv.* Head of Nymph; behind, bunch of grapes; beneath, ΔΙΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ. [*Rev.* Like No. 19.]
	12	Thurium	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, on helmet, Scylla. *Rev.* No. 20.
	13	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, Scylla on helmet. *Rev.* No. 1.
	14	Neapolis	*Obv.* Head of Nymph; behind, oenochoe. [*Rev.* Like No. 19, legend ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, BI.]
	15	Metapontum	*Obv.* Head of Persephone, crowned with corn. [*Rev.* META. Ear of corn, plough and letters in field.]
	16	„	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* META. Ear of corn.]
	17	Locri	*Obv.* No. 6. *Rev.* Eagle tearing hare; in field, thunderbolt.
	18	Velia	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas; in field, IE, A.] *Rev.* YΕΛΗΤΩΝ. Lion devouring stag.
	19	Neapolis	[*Obv.* Like No. 11.] *Rev.* ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ. Man-headed bull crowned by Victory.
	20	Thurium	*Obv.* No. 12. *Rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull butting; below, thunderbolt, above ΘΕ.
Cl. 43	21	Syracuse / Agathocles	[*Obv.* KOPAΣ. Head of Persephone crowned with corn.] *Rev.* Victory erecting trophy; in field, triquetra.
Sicily	22	Syracuse / Pyrrhus	*Obv.* Like No. 28. *Rev.* ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Athene Alkis fighting; in field, thunderbolt and cornucopiae.
B.C. 335—280	23	„	*Obv.* Head of Artemis, with torch and quiver.] *Rev.* ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Victory carrying wreath and trophy; in field, star and thunderbolt.
	24	Syracuse	*Obv.* Head of Ares laureate. [*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Biga; below, triquetra.]
	25	„	*Obv.* ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ. Head of Zeus Hellenius laureate; behind, bucranium. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Eagle on thunderbolt.]
	26	„	*Obv.* Head of young Heracles in lion's skin. [*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Athene Alkis.]
	27	Pyrrhus	*Obv.* ΦΘΙΑΣ. Head of Phthia veiled; behind, thyrsus. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Thunderbolt.]
	28	Syracuse	*Obv.* Head of Persephone crowned with corn; behind, star. [*Rev.* Like No. 22.]
	29	„	*Obv.* Head of Persephone; around, three dolphins.
	30	„	*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga; above, triquetra; below, monogram.
	31	Carthage	*Obv.* Head of Persephone crowned with corn. [*Rev.* Horse; above, sacred symbol.]
	32	„	*Obv.* As last.
	33	„	*Rev.* Horse.
Cl. 52	34	Locri	*Obv.* No. 40. *Rev.* ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Good faith (*Pistis*) crowning Roma; the names of Pistis and Roma behind them.
S. Italy	35	Bruttii	*Obv.* Head of Poseidon, trident over shoulder.] *Rev.* BPETTIΩN. Aphrodite riding on hippocamp in company with Eros, who shoots arrow; in field, shell.
B.C. 280—146	36	„	*Obv.* No. 38. *Rev.* BPETTIΩN. The Dioscuri on horseback, club below.
	37	„	*Obv.* No. 39. *Rev.* BPETTIΩN. Poseidon leaning on sceptre; in field, crab.
	38	„	*Obv.* Heads of the Dioscuri; behind, cornucopiae. *Rev.* No. 36.
	39	„	*Obv.* Head of Amphitrite; behind, dolphin. *Rev.* No. 37.
	40	Locri	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate; below, monogram. *Rev.* No. 34.
Cl. 53	41	Syracuse	*Obv.* Head of Pallas; in field, monogram.] *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ . ΣΩ. Artemis discharging arrow; beside her, dog.
Sicily	42	„	*Obv.* Head of Persephone crowned with corn; behind, owl. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga driven by Victory; letters in field.]
B.C. 280—146	43	Syracuse, Hiero II.	*Obv.* Head of Hiero; behind, star. *Rev.* No. 46.
	44	Syracuse	*Obv.* Head of Philistis, veiled.
	45	„	*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Quadriga driven by Victory; in front, A.
	46	„	*Obv.* No. 43. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. As last; above, star; in front, K.

B.C. 335–146. S. ITALY, SICILY.

Cl. 44/5	1	Macedon Alexander III.	*Obv.* No. 15. *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Zeus Aëtophorus seated; in field, prow of galley.
N. and C. Greece	2	Demetrius Poliorcetes	*Obv.* No. 19. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Poseidon standing leaning on trident; monograms in field.
	3		*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Poseidon striking with trident; in field, bipennis and monogram.
B.C. 335—280	4	"	*Obv.* Victory on prow of galley, blowing trumpet, and holding standard.
	5	Boeotia	*Obv.* No. 14. *Rev.* ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon seated, holding dolphin and trident; shield on side of throne.
	6	Lamia	*Obv.* No. 20. *Rev.* ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ. Heracles seated, holding bow and quiver.
	7	Phthiotic Thebes	[*Obv.* Head of Demeter.] *Rev.* ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Protesilaus leaping ashore from galley.
	8	Oeta	[*Obv.* Lion's head, spear in mouth.] *Rev.* ΟΙΤΑΩΝ *r trogr.* Young Heracles holding club in both hands.
	9	Aenus	[*Obv.* Head of Hermes.] *Rev.* ΑΙΝΙΟΝ. Archaic simulacrum of Dionysus raised on throne, beside it, cantharus.
	10	Alexander III.	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Victory holding wreath and standard; in field, helmet.
	11	Histiaea	[*Obv.* Head of Nymph crowned with vine.] *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ. Nymph seated on galley, holds trophy; in field, bunch of grapes.
	12	Thrace Lysimachus	[*Obv.* Head of Alexander, horned.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas Nikephoros seated; in field, star.
	13	Uranopolis	[*Obv.* Radiate disk (the sun).] *Rev.* ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΩΝ. Aphrodite Urania holding sceptre; in field, solar symbol.
	14	Boeotia	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 5.
	15	Alexander III.	*Obv.* Head of young Heracles in lion's skin. *Rev.* No. 1.
	16	Lysimachus	*Obv.* Head of Alexander diademed, with horn of Ammon. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas Nikephoros seated.]
	17	Aenianes	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ. Warrior throwing javelin.]
	18	Ambracia	*Obv.* Head of Dione veiled. [*Rev.* ΑΜ. Obelisk in wreath.]
	19	Demetrius Poliorcetes	*Obv.* Head of Demetrius diademed, with horn of bull. *Rev.* No. 2.
	20	Lamia	*Obv.* Head of Lamia diademed. *Rev.* No. 6.
Cl. 46/48	21	Epidaurus	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo.] *Rev.* Ε. Aselepius seated, caressing serpent; dog under seat.
	22	Tenos	[*Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon.] *Rev.* ΤΗ. Poseidon seated, holding dolphin and trident.
Peloponnese,	23	Sieyon? Alexander III.	[*Obv.* Head of young Heracles.] *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Zeus Aëtophorus seated, Victories on back of throne; in field, trident; below, monogram.
Crete,	24	Tenos	*Obv.* No. 31. *Rev.* ΤΗΝΙΩΝ. Poseidon standing, holding dolphin and trident; in field, grapes.
Cyrene, &c.	25	Elis	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* FA. Eagle.]
	26	"	*Obv.* FAΛΕΙΩΝ. Head of Hera. [*Rev.* Eagle within wreath.]
B.C. 335—280	27	Colonies of Corinth	*Obv.* Head of armed goddess; behind, Eros riding on dolphin and A. [*Rev.* A. Pegasus flying.]
	28	"	*Obv.* Head of armed goddess, helmet bound with myrtle; behind, plough; in field, AP. [*Rev.* ♀. Pegasus flying.]
	29	Hermione	*Obv.* Head of Persephone crowned with corn. [*Rev.* ΕΡ in monogram. Wreath of corn.]
	30	Cyrene	*Obv.* Head of Dionysus Ammon with ram's horn. [*Rev.* ΚΥΡΑ. Silphium; in field, snake and monogram.]
	31	Tenos	*Obv.* Same head, laureate. *Rev.* No. 24.
	32	Paros	*Obv.* Head of nymph. [*Rev.* ΑΝΑΞΙΚ. ΠΑΡΙ. Goat.]
	33	Achaia	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* ΑΧ in monogram, within wreath.]
Cl. 54/55	34	Byzantium	[*Obv.* Head of Demeter.] *Rev.* Β. ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ. Poseidon seated, holding aplustre and trident, in field, monogram.
N. and C. Greece	35	Macedon. Antigonus Doson?	*Obv.* No. 41. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. Apollo seated on galley, holds bow; beneath, monogram.
	36	Thessaly	[*Obv.* Head of Zeus crowned with oak.] *Rev.* ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΙ. Pallas Itonia fighting.
B.C. 280—146	37	Boeotia	[*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate.] *Rev.* ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Victory holding wreath and trident; in field, grapes and monogram.
	38	Aetolia	[*Obv.* Male head wearing diadema and oak-wreath, below, ΦΙ.] *Rev.* ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ. Aetolian warrior leaning on hunting-spear.
	39	"	[*Obv.* ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ. Head of Achelous.] *Rev.* ΜΕΝΝΕΙΑΣ. Artemis running holding torch; in field, second torch.
	40	"	*Obv.* No. 42. *Rev.* ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ. Aetolia seated on shields, holding spear and sword; in field, ΙΗ and monogram.
	41	Macedon. Antigonus Doson?	*Obv.* Head of Poseidon or River-god crowned with reeds. *Rev.* No. 35.
	42	Aetolia	*Obv.* Head of Young Heracles. *Rev.* No. 40.
	43	Athens	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas. *Rev.* ΑΘΕ. Owl on Amphora; in field, names of magistrates and device; all in olive-wreath.]
	44	Epirus	[*Obv.* Heads of Zeus Dodonaeus and Dione, behind, ΜΕ. *Rev.* ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ. Bull butting; type in oak-wreath.]
	45	Macedon Philip V.	[*Obv.* Head of Perseus on Macedonian shield. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Club in oak-wreath; monograms and harpe in field.]
	46	Perseus	[*Obv.* Head of the king Perseus, diademed; below, ΙΩΙΛΟΥ. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ. Eagle on thunderbolt, in oak-wreath; monograms and star in field.]
Cl. 56/8	47	Messene	*Obv.* No. 52. *Rev.* ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑ. Zeus Aëtophorus thundering; in field, tripod.
	48	Paros	[*Obv.* Head of Dionysus.] *Rev.* ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗ. ΠΑΡΙΩΝ. Demeter holding ears of corn and sceptre, seated on cista mystica.
Peloponnese, Crete	49	Gortyna	[*Obv.* Head of Zeus diademed.] *Rev.* ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ. Hunter seated, holding bow and arrows; in field, Β.
	50	Cydonia	[*Obv.* Head of Artemis, with magistrate's name.] *Rev.* ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ. Artemis holding long torch; beside her, dog; all in wreath.
B.C. 280—146	51	Elis	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. [*Rev.* FA. ΔΙ. Eagle and serpent.]
	52	Messene	*Obv.* Head of Demeter crowned with corn. *Rev.* No. 47.
	53	Polyrhenium	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo; bow and quiver at shoulder. *Rev.* ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΩΝ. Female figure seated, holding Victory; below, thunderbolt.]

B.C. 335–146. HELLAS.

PLATE XIII.

Cl. 49	1	Amastris	*Obv.* No. 11. *Rev.* ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΕΩΝ. Seated Figure, holding Victory and sceptre; in field, rose.
Asia Minor	2	Nagidus	*Obv.* ΝΑΓΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΥ. Dionysus standing, holding grapes and thyrsus; in field, monogram. [*Rev.* Aphrodite seated on throne, wearing stephanos (cf. X. 34); above, winged Eros, crowning her; beneath throne, shrew; in field, rose.]
B.C. 335—280	3	Pergamum	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* ΠΕΡΓΑΜ. Simulacrum of Pallas.
	4	Heraclea	[*Obv.* Head of young Heracles in lion's skin.] *Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ. Young Dionysus seated, holding wine-cup and thyrsus.
	5	Aspendus	[*Obv.* Wrestlers; letters in field.] *Rev.* Slinger; in field, winged genius and triquetra; also countermarks.
	6	Heraclea. Timotheus and Dionysius	*Obv.* No. 9. *Rev.* ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. Heracles erecting trophy.
	7	Colophon	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. [*Rev.* ΚΟΛΟΦΩ ΞΗΝΗΣ. Lyre.]
	8	Miletus	*Obv.* As last. [*Rev.* ΜΙ ΚΑΛΛΑΙΣΧΡΟΣ. Lion looking back at star.]
	9	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Dionysus, thyrsus over shoulder. *Rev.* No. 6.
	10	Berytus in the Troad	*Obv.* Head of Cabeirus? surrounded by star. [*Rev.* ΒΙΡΥ. Club in wreath.]
	11	Amastris	*Obv.* Head of Mên?. *Rev.* No. 1.
	12	Ephesus	*Obv.* Head of Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus. [*Rev.* ΑΡΣΙ ΓΟΝΕΥΣ. Bow and quiver.]
	13	„	*Obv.* Head of Artemis. [*Rev.* ΕΦ. Forepart of stag, palm tree and bee; in field, name of magistrate.]
Cl. 59	14	Bithynia Prusias I.	*Obv.* No. 35. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ. Zeus leaning on sceptre, crowning name of Prusias; in field, thunderbolt and monograms.
Asia Minor	15	Lampsacus	*Obv.* No. 30. *Rev.* ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗΝΩΝ, ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΟΥ. Apollo Citharoedus; in field, palm and monogram.
B.C. 280—146	16	Ilium	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ, ΜΕΝΕΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝΕΦΡΟΝΟΣ. Athene Ilias holding spear and spindle; in field, bee and monogram.
	17	Myrina	*Obv.* No. 28. *Rev.* ΜΥΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ. Apollo holding patera and lustral branch; at his feet, omphalos and amphora: all in wreath.
	18	Pergamum	[*Obv.* Head of a king.] *Rev.* ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ. Pallas seated, crowning the name of Philetaerus; in field, star and bow, and ΔΙ.
	19	Chalcedon	[*Obv.* Similar to No. 26.] *Rev.* ΚΑΛΧ. Apollo seated on omphalos, holds arrow and bow; in field, Ε.
	20	Tarsus Demetrius II.	[*Obv.* Head of king, bearded.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Sardanapalus riding on horned beast; holds bipennis; in field, monograms.
	21	Erythrae	[*Obv.* Head of young Heracles.] *Rev.* ΕΡΥ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙ. Artemis with oriental head-dress, holding spear and pomegranate.
	22	Smyrna	*Obv.* No. 25. *Rev.* ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ. Homer, seated.
	23	Bithynia. Prusias	[*Obv.* Head of Dionysus.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ. Centaur playing on lyre; in field, monogram.
	24	Ephesus	*Obv.* Head of Artemis, quiver at shoulder. [*Rev.* ΕΦ ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΣ. Forepart of stag; bee in field.]
	25	Smyrna	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 22.
	26	Chalcedon	*Obv.* Head of Demeter, veiled. [*Rev.* Similar to No. 19.]
	27	Heraclea	*Obv.* Head of Pallas. [*Rev.* ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ. Club; in field, Victory and monograms; all in wreath.]
	28	Myrina	*Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate. *Rev.* No. 17.
	29	Magnesia	*Obv.* Head of Artemis, quiver at shoulder. [*Rev.* ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. Apollo standing on Maeander and leaning on tripod; magistrate's name in field; all in wreath.]
	30	Lampsacus	*Obv.* Head of bearded Dionysus, ivy-crowned. *Rev.* No. 15.
	31	Smyrna	*Obv.* Head of deity, wearing turreted crown. [*Rev.* ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ and monogram; all in wreath.]
	32	Cyzicus	*Obv.* Head of Queen Apollonias crowned with laurel. [*Rev.* ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. Torch and monograms; all in wreath.
	33	Cappadocia Orophernes	*Obv.* Head of King Orophernes diademed. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. Nike crowning name of king; in field, owl on altar, and monogram.]
	34	Pontus Mithradates IV.	*Obv.* Head of King Mithradates IV. diademed. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ. Zeus Aëtophorus, seated; in field, crescent and star and monograms.]
	35	Bithynia. Prusias I.	*Obv.* Head of King Prusias diademed. *Rev.* No. 14.

B.C. 335-146. ASIA MINOR.

PLATE XIV.

Cl. 50	1	Syria. Seleucus I.	*Obv.* No. 8. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Victory crowning trophy; letters in field.
Further Asia	2	Parthia. Andragoras	[*Obv.* Head of a city, turreted; behind, monogram.] *Rev.* ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ. Pallas standing; holds owl.
B.C. 335—280	3	Syria. Seleucus I.	[*Obv.* Head of Alexander in elephant's skin.] *Rev.* Victory holding wreath and trophy-stand; in field, horned head of horse, ΔΙ.
	4	Sidon	[*Obv.* Galley amid waves.] *Rev.* King in quadriga; behind, an attendant carrying sceptre and vessel; above, Phoenician letters.
	5	Tyre	[*Obv.* Galley in front of walled city; below, two lions.] *Rev.* King slaying lion; in field, Phoenician letters.
	6	Seleucus I.	*Obv.* Head of Medusa. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Bull butting; below, ⨦.]
	7	Andragoras	*Obv.* Head of a bearded Deity; behind, monogram. [*Rev.* ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ. King and Victory in quadriga.]
	8	Seleucus I.	*Obv.* Head of Seleucus in helmet, lion's skin tied round throat. *Rev.* No. 1.
	9	India. Sophytes	*Obv.* Head of Sophytes in laureate helmet.
	10	„	*Rev.* ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ. Cock; above, caduceus.
	11	Seleucus I.	[*Obv.* Horned head of Dionysus. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Horseman piercing prostrate foe; in field, monograms.]
	12	„	*Obv.* Horned head of horse, bridled. [*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Anchor; in field, bunch of grapes.]
Cl. 60	13	Marathus	[*Obv.* Head of city, turreted.] *Rev.* ΜΑΡΑΘΗΝΩΝ. Apollo holding aplustre and sceptre, seated on shields; in field, date in Phoenician letters.
Further Asia	14	Syria. Antiochus IV.	[*Obv.* No. 26. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. The Olympian Zeus, holding Victory.
B.C. 280—100	15	Demetrius I.	[*Obv.* Head of Demetrius in wreath.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Tyche (fortuna) seated, holding wand and cornucopiae; her throne supported by winged figure; in field, date, 161, and monograms.
	16	Parthia. Mithradates I.	[*Obv.* No. 31. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Heracles holding wine-cup and club; in field, date, 173, and monogram.
	17	Syria. Antiochus IX.	[*Obv.* Head of the king.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. The Pyre of Sardanapalus, the Deity standing on a lion; letters in field.
	18	Demetrius II.	[*Obv.* Head of the king.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Simulacrum of Pallas holding spear, star on either side her head; in field, monogram.
	19	Bactria. Agathocles	[*Obv.* Head of the king.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Zeus holding in one hand sceptre, in the other, figure of Hecate, who carries two torches; in field, monogram.
	20	Antialcides	[*Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ. Head of the king.] *Rev.* Indian inscription. Zeus holding Victory; in front, elephant.
	21	Antimachus	[*Obv.* No. 32. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Poscidon holding trident and palm; in field, monogram.
	22	Euthydemus II.	*Obv.* No. 33. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. Heracles holding wreath and club; in field, monogram.
	23	Eucratides	[*Obv.* No. 34. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. The Dioscuri charging, each having palm; in field, monogram.
	24	Maues	[*Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ. Zeus, holding sceptre, and thunderbolt personified in female figure.
	25	„	*Rev.* Indian inscription. Deity wearing turreted crown and holding long sceptre; in field, monogram.
	26	Syria. Antiochus IV.	*Obv.* Head of Zeus laureate. *Rev.* No. 14.
	27	Antiochus VII.	[*Obv.* Bust of Eros, crowned with myrtle. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. Head-dress of Isis; in field, date.]
	28	Antiochus II.	[*Obv.* Head of Antiochus as Hermes. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Apollo seated on omphalos; in field, symbol and letters.]
	29	Antiochus I.	*Obv.* Head of Antiochus. [*Rev.* Similar to last.]
	30	Egypt. Ptolemy II.	[*Obv.* ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Heads of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe; behind, monogram. *Rev.* ΘΕΩΝ. Heads of Ptolemy I. and Berenice.]
	31	Parthia. Mithradates I.	*Obv.* Head of Mithradates, diademed. *Rev.* No. 16.
	32	Bactria. Antimachus	*Obv.* Head of the king in causia. *Rev.* No. 21.
	33	Euthydemus II.	*Obv.* Head of the king diademed. *Rev.* No. 22.
	34	Eucratides	*Obv.* Head of the king helmeted. *Rev.* No. 23.

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B.C. 335-100 FURTHER ASIA.

PLATE XV.

Copies of Statues	1	Emisa. Caracalla	Eagle in front of conical stone in temple.
	2	Sidon. Elagabalus	Simulacrum of Astarte in car.
	3	Perga. L. Verus	Simulacrum of Artemis of Perga between Sphinxes in temple.
	4	Ephesus. Claudius and Agrippina	Artemis of Ephesus.
	5	Samos. Commodus	Nemesis beside the simulacrum of Hera.
	6	Myra. Gordian III.	Kybele protecting a tree against woodmen.
	7	Dardanus. Geta	Aeneas carrying off seated deity and leading Ascanius.
	8	Erythrae. Sept. Severus	Nemesis beside simulacrum of Heracles in temple.
	9	Euromus in Caria. Claudius and Agrippina?	The Carian Zeus Labrandeus; beside him, eagle.
	10	Aphrodisias. Hadrian	Simulacrum of Aphrodite between sun and moon; in front of her, Eros shooting arrow.
	11	Mytilene. 3rd cent. A.D.	[*Obv.* Head of Zeus Ammon.] *Rev.* Figure of Dionysus on a prow; beside it, Concordia.
	12	Antissa in Lesbos. 3rd cent. B.C.	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo.] *Rev.* ΑΝΤΙΣ. Head of Dionysus; below, thunderbolt.
	13	Ilium. 2nd cent. B.C.	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* ΙΛΙ. Athene Ilias holding spear and spindle; in field, olive-twig.
	14	Leucas. 2nd cent. B.C.	*Obv.* Figure of Artemis holding aplustre; beside her, stag; behind, sceptre surmounted by bird: all in wreath. [*Rev.* Name of city, &c. Prow.]
	15*	Miletus. Faustina, Jun.	Apollo; the statue of Canachus.
	16	„ Nero	As last.
	17	Syria. Seleucus I.	[*Obv.* Head of Apollo.] *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Early statue of Athene.
	18	Elis. Hadrian	Head of the Zeus of Phidias.
	19	„	Figure of the Zeus of Phidias.
	20	Cnidus. 3rd cent. A.D.	*Obv.* Head of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles. [*Rev.* ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ. Fortune.]
	21*	Cnidus. Caracalla and Plautilla	Figure of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles.
	22	Athens. 2nd cent. A.D.	[*Obv.* Head of Pallas.] *Rev.* ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. The Pallas of the Parthenon.
	23	Alexandria Troas 2nd cent. A.D.	Apollo Smintheus; statue by Scopas? in front, tripod.
	24*	Corinth. Antoninus Pius	Hermes seated in temple; beside him, ram.
	25	„ L. Verus	Aphrodite holding shield, in temple on the Acropolis of Corinth.
	26	Delphi. Faustina, Jun.	Apollo in temple; holds patera, and leans on column.
	27	Chalcis in Euboea. Septim. Severus	Hera seated on rock, holding patera and sceptre.
	28	Lacedaemon. Antigonus Doson	Armed figure holding lance and bow (the Apollo of Amyclae); beside him goat; in field, wreath.
	29	Athens. 2nd cent. B.C.	Athenian types; in field, Apollo holding the Graces in his hand (statue at Delos, by Tectaeus and Angelion).
	30	„	Athenian types. Harmodius and Aristogeiton, statues by Critius and Nesiotes.
	31	Sicyon. Alexander the Great	Types of Alexander. Male figure (Apollo holding taenia?).
	32	Antioch. Tigranes of Syria	Type of Tigranes. The Tyche of Antioch holding palm; at her feet, Orontes (statue by Eutychides).

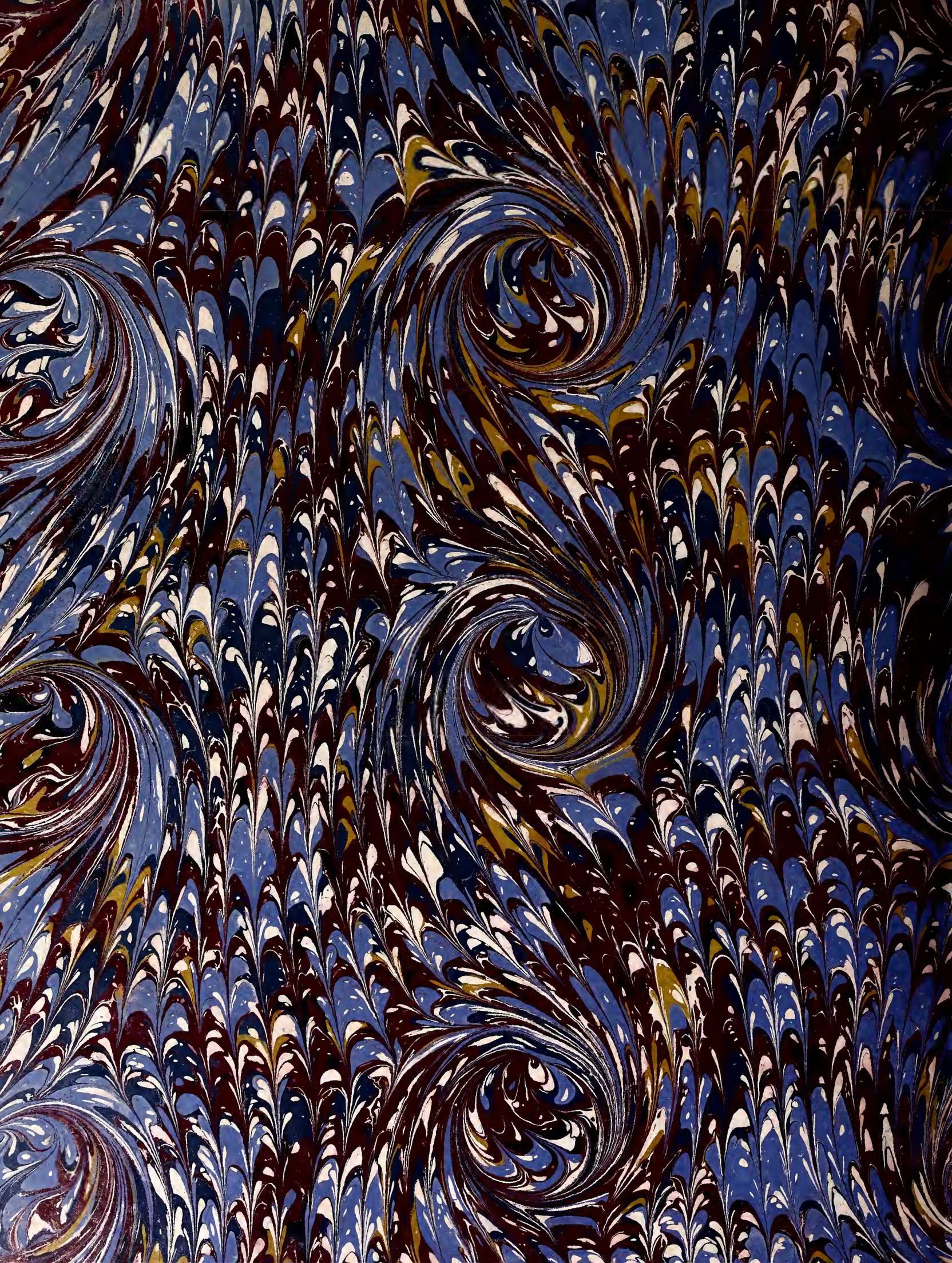
* From Mionnet's casts.

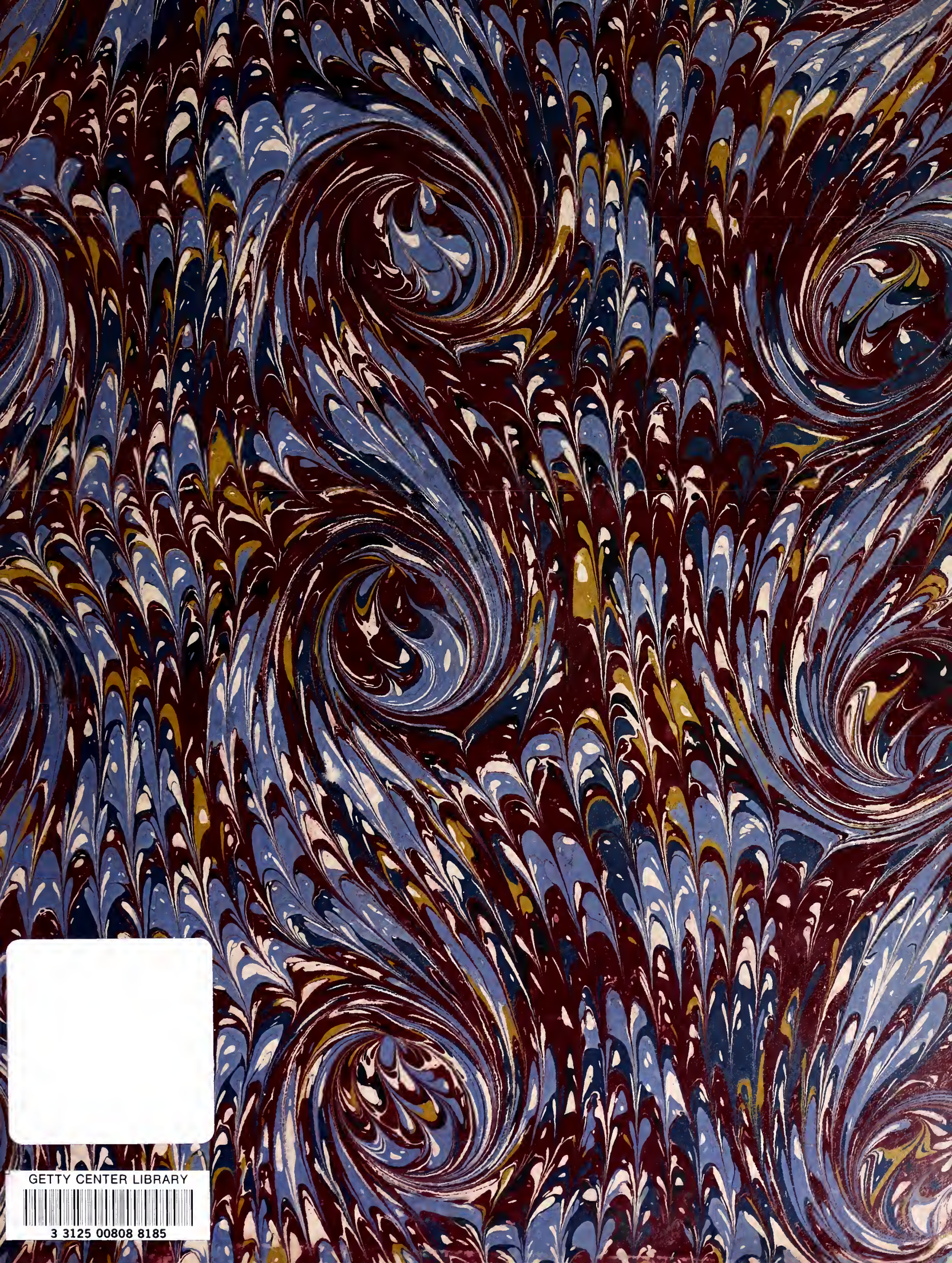
COPIES OF STATUES.

PLATE XVI.

Coins of Alliances, &c.	1	Croton & Sybaris	*Obv.* ϘPO. Tripod. *Rev.* ΣY *retrogr.* Incuse bull.
	2	Poseidonia and Sybaris	*Obv.* ΣY *retrogr.* Poseidon striking with trident. *Rev.* ΠOΣ *retrogr.* Bull.
	3	Himera	*Obv.* HIMEPA. Cock. *Rev.* Crab.
	4	Alaesa in Sicily	*Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* ΣYMMAXIKON. Thunderbolt and bunch of grapes.
	5	Milctus	*Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* EΓ ΔIΔYMΩN IEPH. Lion looking back, and star.
	6	Samos	*Obv.* ΣYN. Young Heracles strangling serpents. *Rev.* ΣA. Lion's scalp.
	7	Ephesus	*Obv.* Same type and inscription. *Rev.* EΦ. Bee; below, ΠE.
	8	Lampsacus	*Obv.* Same type, no inscription. *Rev.* Half of winged horse.
	9	Teos	*Obv.* Griffin; in field, part of winged horse. *Rev.* Incuse square.
	10	Abdera	*Obv.* Griffin; in field, grasshopper and magistrate's name HPAK. *Rev.* Incuse square.
	11	Phocaea, Velia or Massilia	*Obv.* Forepart of lion tearing prey. *Rev.* Incuse.
	12		*Obv.* Head of Pallas. *Rev.* Incuse.
	13	Samos	*Obv.* Lion's scalp. *Rev.* ΣA. Head and neck of bull.
	14	Rhegium	*Obv.* Lion's face. *Rev.* PEΓION *retrogr.* Head of calf.
	15	Messana	*Obv.* Lion's face. *Rev.* MEΣΣENION. Head of calf.
	16	Sybaris	*Obv.* ΣY *retrogr.* Bull. *Rev.* Bull, incuse.
	17	„	*Obv.* Poseidon striking with trident. *Rev.* ΣY *retrogr.* Bull.
	18	„	*Obv.* Head of Pallas, helmeted. *Rev.* ΣYBAPI. Bull looking back.
	19	Thurium	*Obv.* As last. *Rev.* ΘOYPIΩN. Bull walking; below, fish and Γ.
	20	Corinth	*Obv.* Head of Pallas or armed Aphrodite; behind, lituus. *Rev.* Ϙ. Pegasus.
	21	Leucas	*Obv.* Same type, behind wine-cup; below, Λ. *Rev.* Λ. Pegasus.
	22	Syracuse	*Obv.* ΣYPAKOΣIΩN. Same type. *Rev.* Pegasus.
	23	Carystus in Euboea	*Obv.* Cow suckling calf. *Rev.* K. Cock.
	24	Corcyra	*Obv.* Cow suckling calf. *Rev.* KOP. Archaic floral pattern; beside, bunch of grapes.
	25	Dyrrhachium	*Obv.* A. Same type. *Rev.* ΔYP. Similar type; in field, club.

COINS OF ALLIANCES &c





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